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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 80



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PARTY AND STATE

ELECTION OF PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES DISCUSSED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Feb 80 p 2

[Article: "Questions and Answers on Election of People's Representatives"]

[Text] [Question] How do we nominate candidates to be people's representatives?

[Answer] Regulation 26 of the nomination law states that "Candidates for election to the various levels of the people's representative assemblies, both nationally and locally, are to be nominated according to election district or election unit," and "The Chinese Communist Party, democratic parties and people's groups can jointly or individually recommend a candidate for election. Any voter or representative who is seconded by more than three people can also be recommended as a candidate for election." Regulation 28 states: "...nominated by each election district, voters or each unit." To guarantee that the nomination of a candidate for election truly comes from the masses, the "Tianjin district and prefectural people's representative assembly tentative election clause" regulation was written to fully respect the wishes and nomination of the voters. If the district and prefectural Communist Party organizations, democratic parties and people's groups jointly have too many candidates recommended for election, they should together not exceed one-fifth of the required representatives. This is to say, that the nomination of the great majority of candidates for election will come from the mass of voters. This fully develops the actual realization of socialist democracy.

[Question] What are the procedures to nominate candidates for election as people's representatives and officially determining a candidate for election?

[Answer] This can be generally divided into three steps:

The first step is widespread nomination. Each election district voter has one nomination, and when seconded by three persons, that person can be recommended as a candidate for election. The Chinese Communist Party, democratic parties and people's groups can also jointly or individually recommend candidates for election. When recommended, the candidates should

be introduced and afterwards each aspect of the candidate recommended for election and the candidate's circumstances should be collected by the election committee and announced to the voters.

The second step is repeated discussion. After the names of the candidates are published on a list, the election committees, election districts or recommenders should conscientiously introduce the candidates and publicize the candidates to allow the mass of voters to understand the candidates, organize voter discussions and thus be able to make a comparative choice.

The third step is the official determination of a list of candidates. After repeated discussions and democratic consultation, the leading election district sections gather voter opinions and summon the heads of the sections to hold a meeting for consultation and study. Based on the view of the majority of voters, a list of candidates should be officially determined and reported to the election committee.

From the nomination of candidates to the determination of an official list of candidates there should be chosen several people for voter discussion and consultation. If there are too many candidates and the views of the voters are not gathered they can hold primary elections.

[Question] What should we pay attention to in nominating candidates as people's representatives?

[Answer] To successfully carry out the nomination of candidates there are several problems that should be paid close attention to:

1. You should encourage voters to nominate candidates who truly uphold the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP 11th Congress and the Second Session of the People's Congress. They should earnestly love socialist work, wholeheartedly serve the people, have a close relationship with the masses, be equitable in managing affairs, be energetic, be able to make a great contribution and be without factional tendencies. Candidates must be outstanding persons who will be trusted by the masses.
2. You should allow voters to be attentive to the comprehensiveness of the people's representatives. Allow each nationality, each district and each sector to have an appropriate number of representatives. You should take into consideration the nomination of women, youths, minority nationalities, overseas Chinese who have returned to China, religious group members and patriotic personages.
3. You should fully develop socialist democracy. The nomination of candidates should come from the bottom, that is, those who are truly from the masses. You should first think of democracy and then of centralization. After repeated discussions and democratic consultation ultimately based on the views of the majority of voters, the official list of candidates should be determined. It is necessary to guard against negligent work and any monopolization.

[Question] What is an equal quota election? What is an unequal quota election?

[Answer] An equal quota election is one in which the number of candidates is equal to the number of representatives. For example, if two representatives should be elected then two candidates should be nominated. An equal quota election (also called a discrepancy quota election) is one in which the number of candidates is greater than the number of elected representatives: "The number of candidates directly elected by the voters should be 50 percent to 100 percent greater than the number of elected representatives." For example, if four representatives are to be elected, six to eight candidates can be determined.

The advantages of the unequal quota election are: If the voters choose too many candidates, this guarantees that the voters will freely elect satisfactory representatives, strengthen the representatives' mass viewpoint, raise the position and ideology of the people so as to be able to make responsible decisions and urges people to enthusiastically participate in the management of the nation.

[Question] How do we determine the candidates to be elected as people's representatives?

[Answer] After the voting is finished, candidates must receive over half of the district's votes to be elected. They must also go through the election committee who consider whether the candidates are in accord with election regulations. Then a list can be published. At this time, candidates are officially chosen to be people's representatives. Due to the appearance of the following three conditions which have arisen from the carrying out of unequal quota elections, election laws were also formulated:

1. If the quota of candidates who receive more than one-half of the ballots exceeds the quota for elected representatives, the candidate who receives the most votes is elected.
2. If the quota of candidates who receive over one-half of the ballots exceeds the required number of elected persons and the number of ballots for several candidates is equal, then there should be a new election of those whose vote number was equal. In this new election, the candidate with the largest number of votes is elected.
3. If the quota of candidates who receive over one-half of the ballots is less than the quota for elected representatives then there should be another election to meet the unfulfilled quota.

PARTY AND STATE

MAJOR REFORM OF CADRE SYSTEM URGED

Beijing XINSHIQI [NEW PERIOD] in Chinese No 2, Nov 79 pp 19-20

[Article by Lou Jing [2869 7234]: "The Present Cadre System Must Be Changed"]

[Text] Assuming that bureaucracy is an obstacle currently affecting the masses' initiative in pushing the four modernizations, then certain shortcomings in our present cadre system do affect the shift of emphasis in the party's work and hinder the progress of the four modernizations.

Cadres are the nation's servants of the people and the ties that bind the party masses. To thoroughly implement the party's line, completely mobilize the masses' socialist enthusiasm, guarantee the smooth running of all endeavors in order to speed up the pace of our national construction, we must regularly examine, select, supplement, rejuvenate and eliminate cadres to maintain the fine quality and high productivity of our cadre ranks. At present our cadre system has the following defects: one is called the lifelong system, and the other the appointment system.

The lifelong system glaringly shows that cadres, particularly leading cadres, can work at higher but not lower levels. Grasping firmly as they do definitive leadership powers of the party and government, these comrades' wisdom or lack of it has a bearing on the people's livelihood and even their life and death. Precisely when these leading cadres reach a position where their capability, health and age do not match with their functions, they usually can only work at the top but not down below, can only act like bureaucrats but not serve the people. Even if they commit errors, as long as the mistakes are not issues of ourselves versus the enemy, they are merely transferred to another region or unit where they continue to act as bureaucrats as usual. They are virtually unbreakable "iron rice bowls."

During the past few years, we have not had any system of regular examination and promotion of cadres. Due to various reasons, the number of officials have steadily increased, so that big piles of "heads" are to be found in each ministry, bureau and division, and yet only a few do the actual work there. Departments are inflated, like an army with too many generals but too few soldiers, top-heavy and developing incongruously. As all of them are leaders, all matters must be brought to them for instructions. And yet some

of them refuse to give any instruction, preferring to pass the buck to somebody else. After becoming "desk" cadres, many of them do nothing more than attach their signatures and then "make a field trip" for 10 days or 2 weeks. How can they improve their work efficiency in that manner? How can they adjust themselves to the needs of the four modernizations?

Moreover, the aging phenomenon of leading groups in various levels is becoming quite serious. Although this was due to the trampling of the younger generation by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," which has caused a continuity gap, yet we cannot deny that such a phenomenon has some relationship with the shortcomings of our cadre system. There is no doubt that our socialist society should properly look after the livelihood and give free scope to the speciality of old and infirm cadres whose strength is not equal to their will but who have contributed to our revolution. However, should we continue to assign them leading positions? Would it not be better to ask them to act as advisers, place them on the second line as counselors to their successors to make comments on things which are no longer their own concern? This way we can let those outstanding cadres who are knowledgeable, experienced, vigorous and supported by the masses "to be in the right place" and "to carry out the right job," thereby nurturing talents.

Now, let's talk about the appointment system. At present in various levels practically all leading cadres, from the head of a workshop through the secretary of a commune to the leader of a county or province are appointed from above and not elected from below. As a matter of fact, the masses usually understand cadres deeper and more thoroughly than the cadres' superiors understand them. Allowing the masses to directly elect cadres would be more conducive to nominating the wise and electing the able, giving opportunities to eminent persons who enjoy the trust of the majority of the people to become elected to leading positions. In some places, the head of a workshop or the people's representative of a county level is already directly elected by the masses, which is a very good beginning. But the scale is still limited and we need to create certain conditions to expand this system gradually. At present, when we recommend a cadre for promotion, we usually merely rely on the word of a superior leading person. This kind of procedure makes it easy for a few greedy and opportunistic persons to take advantage of loopholes. A cadre would just look at the face of his superior when carrying out his duties without feeling any sense of responsibility toward the people. To gain a good impression from his superior, he would flatter and fawn upon him and lavish dinners and gifts on him. Some such cadres would even openly advertise "we must follow people, not line," and "if you want to get a promotion in government service, you must have a mountain to rely on." The criterion of putting equal stress on integrity and ability and the principle of hiring a person on the basis of wisdom are put aside. Under such a situation, the masses become the victims, naturally. The masses simply accept what is offered them, as they have no right to question or to elect the "paternalistic officials are clean or corrupt, capable or mediocre. In case they do something wrong against a certain leader and suffer blows, the masses can merely resign to fate and accept the punishment. How can we mobilize the initiative of the masses in this manner?

Of course, these shortcomings of the cadre sysetm do not stand alone, for they are related to the political and economic system. If we want to reform our cadre system, we must strengthen our democratic legal system, and improve our economic work and combine all three for an overall consideration. But we must also realize that in order to rectify these corrupt practices, we cannot merely rely on handling several typical cases, but we must decide to make a relatively major reform of our cadre sysetm.

9300

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR STRICT BUT FAIR PARTY DISCIPLINE SAID URGENT

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Feb 80 p 3

[Article: "Party Discipline Must Be Strictly Observed"]

[Text] During the tyrannical period of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," party rules and regulations were unwarrantably abused, and party discipline was neglected. After crushing the "gang of four," the CCP Central Committee stressed the building up of the party, established a central disciplinary examination committee and formulated important legal documents for the party to improve party discipline. Yet, the 10 years of serious harm done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," in addition to the insufficient efforts made to rectify party discipline and the slackening of party discipline have directly influenced the leadership of the party in building the four modernizations. Because of this, the need for strict but fair party discipline has become most urgent.

The basic principles of party discipline are: "individual adherence to the majority, lower level adherence to the upper level and party adherence to the CCP Central Committee." Most important of these three statements is "party adherence to the CCP Central Committee." Yet, at present there are party members who do not have the party in mind and do not comply with party discipline. In some leading groups, there is still a minority who still maintain contradictory behavior, feign compliance, agreeably carry out or incongruously do not implement the line and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP 11th Congress. Other stubbornly resist the implementation of party policies, especially those with false, erroneous policies who are adversaries of rehabilitation. Still others do not pay attention to party discipline and national law and act foolishly and recklessly. This kind of behavior has seriously subverted centralized unity within the party and weakened the party's fighting capacity, so that party policies cannot be executed. If this is not resolutely corrected, the party cannot lead the people in carrying out the great historical revolution of the new long march.

Party discipline is the consolidation of party unity and the guarantee of implementing the party line and policies. At present, the emphasis of party discipline is especially significant. Only by strengthening party discipline

can the party advance, and all of the people, with unified awareness, unified policies and unified action, under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee, of one mind and with concentrated energies, carry out the four modernizations. Each level of the party organization must resolutely carry out the line and policies formulated by the CCP Central Committee without permitting each individual to follow his own sense of right and wrong. Naturally, when resolutely carrying out the party line and policies, we should adjust to the realities of a region and a unit and based on actual conditions permit the formulation and adoption of appropriate measures. However, these measures cannot go against the spirit of the CCP Central Committee, nor under the pretext of unique circumstances can people reject its implementation and carry out a separate set of measures. At present, violations of law and disruption of discipline within the party subvert the relation of the party and the people. This is seriously damaging the prestige of the party among the masses. We cannot look upon this lightly and must carry out a resolute struggle against this. Further, we cannot take a heedless attitude toward those who engage in factionalism.

Party discipline is built on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The unified basis of the political line and the principle of organization is conscious discipline. The majority of party members are rooted in the self-awareness of Marxism-Leninism, loyal to party work, have a spirit of self-sacrifice and consciously and willingly follow party discipline. The basic reason for those party members who have violated party discipline and not upheld party policies are that their level of awareness of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is low, they are unable to resist the erosion of capitalist thought, and the rise of anarchism and extreme individualism. Do the facts not bear this out? For example, some people, knowing that their own relatives do not fit in with the policy of raising workers, nevertheless take every means possible to place them in jobs. Others knowing well that the issue of excessive bonuses and subsidies is contradictory to financial and economic discipline, nevertheless resort to all kinds of methods to cunningly establish a name and to increase the doling out of funds. Others who clearly do not have relatives in Hong Kong, Macao or abroad lie or assume different identities to send their own relatives out. Are not these situations sufficient to show the trouble caused by anarchism and extreme individualism? The injury to party members and harm to party work caused by anarchism and extreme individualism is very serious. Some people go against party discipline, do not accept criticism and education from the party organization or even try to vindicate themselves with "reasons" by saying things such as "the organization does not satisfy my needs and so I want to do it this way," or this is "my freedom." This tells us that in order to strengthen party discipline we must strengthen party member training in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as well as training them in the political, ideological and organizational lines of the party. We must also overcome the extreme individualism, anarchism, bureaucracy and factionalism within the party. Only then can we effectively raise the self-awareness of party members to observe discipline.

To strengthen party discipline, we must depend on the self-awareness of party members. Yet discipline takes compliance as a precondition and is compulsory. Because of this, strict but fair party discipline also requires clear rewards and punishments. During the tyrannical period of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people and demons were reversed and right and wrong were not distinguished. If the party is strong but the comrades who abide by the discipline cannot get the organization's support and praise, then they will be ridiculed. There are those who violate laws and disrupt discipline and act foolishly and recklessly but are not controlled. They are not restrained by party discipline, but manage to be assigned to important positions. We must thoroughly wipe out the poison of the "cause trouble and become an official" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We must distinguish clearly rewards and punishments. To resolutely carry out the party line and policies we must support and praise those comrades who strictly adhere to party discipline and national laws, and urge everyone to study from them. We must criticize and train those comrades who oppose party discipline and have bad work styles. Further, it is necessary to sternly handle those who stubbornly participate in factionalism, those who do not uphold the line of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP 11th Congress and those who are not corrected after repeated teaching.

In discipline, Communist Party members are equal before the people. Whether their position is high or low, their merit great or small or their backgrounds deep or shallow, all must strictly follow party discipline. The party's leading cadres, shouldering the heavy responsibility to party work, are the core strength of the party, and their every movement, every work influences the mass of party members. Therefore, they should become models of following party discipline and set an example for party members. The party's leading cadres who violate laws and disrupt discipline must also, based on factual mistakes, sternly deal with them so as to safeguard the austereness of party discipline.

9480

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

WHY A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT SHOULD CONTEND EXPLAINED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Feb 80 p 4

[Article by Liu Jin (0491 6855): "On How a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend"]

[Text] Some time ago, I heard a comrade of the literary circle saying: You have talked about "a hundred schools of thought contend." What I wish to talk about is "'how' a hundred schools of thought contend." And in the final analysis, how does one go about contending?

This sentence reveals the kind of bewilderment some comrades feel toward the present "hundred schools of thought contend" of the literary world. Contend. Contend. It is easy to say but not simple to practice.

In fact, regarding "a hundred schools of thought contend," Comrade Deng Xiaoping explained very clearly last year in his congratulatory message at the National Conference of Literary Representatives: "Within the literary ranks, among literary workers of every classification and every school, among the comrades who take up writing and comrades who take up literary criticism, among literary masters and the broad masses of readers, we should promote comradely, friendly discussions, promote the presentation of facts and reason, permit criticism and counter-criticism; we should firmly hold on to the truth and correct mistakes." -- The "hundred schools of thought contend" of the literary world -- Is there yet any other way to contend besides this one? There is none.

Literature is a product of complicated social phenomenon and its spirit. Be it an issue of literary theory or an issue of value assessment of a concrete work, there are always differing opinions and views. It is only through "hundred schools of thought contend" which allows everyone to state his opinion and to speak his mind without restraint that a more comprehensive and a more accurate viewpoint can be reached.

At present, for instance, toward the one fundamental issue of the relationship between literature and politics, there are various kinds of entirely different views. Some comrades say: Literature and politics are

both superstructures. The two have an equal relationship like that of brothers and sisters. There is no question here of who serves whom. Otherwise, the equal brother-sister relationship will be altered into an unequal father-son or master-servant relationship, which is absolutely unacceptable. Some comrades have said: The life of art lies in realism. As long as it is real it is good. If one has to talk about political standards and must emphasize social effects, literature will fall into the quagmire of "main theme comes first" and "proceeding from the line," and will be blind to the suffering of the people and will only care to sing praises for achievements and virtues. Lying and deceitful literature will thus come forth. As a result, politics will certainly fail and art will come to an end. Contrary to this viewpoint, other comrades think that: To understand narrowly-mindedly the relationship between art and politics and to require every art form and every piece of concrete work to have a strong political content is unrealistic and wrong. But, literature, particularly socialist literature taken as a whole, should always act in unison with socialist politics; at least it cannot go the opposite direction. At present, our literature should be advantageous to the four modernizations, to stability and unity, to the arousal of socialist enthusiasm among the masses, to the advancement of the spiritual state of the people, and to the cultivation of new socialists and should not go the other way, should it? Our writers and artists should always have this kind of political consciousness, should they not? Still there are other comrades who say: Historically, revolutionary literature and revolutionary politics have since the beginning always been tightly bound together. The main trend of our new May Fourth literature was to oppose imperialism and feudalism. Leftist literature of the thirties then announced publicly: Leftist writers "cannot but stand on the battleground of the war of liberation of the proletariat." Following the "July 7th" incident, like rising winds and surging clouds, the "songs of the war of resistance," "plays of the war of resistance," and "literature of the war of resistance" demonstrated definite effectiveness in mobilizing all people to fight the war. During the war of liberation, the opera "White Haired Girl" had an enormous and direct effect on the stimulation of class consciousness among liberation fighters. Various incidents such as this have fully explained that revolutionary literature and revolutionary politics are closely related and united--that it has been so for a long time is beyond any doubt.

In the final analysis, is there any relationship between literature and politics, and what kind of relationship will that be if there is one? I feel that this is an extremely important question which is wholly capable of bringing about the campaign of "a hundred schools of thought contend," and thus allow everyone to express his opinion and work out some in-depth investigations.

There is still the question of value assessment--praise, criticism, applause or shaking heads and sighing--over a piece of concrete work or the writer. The destruction of a reputation through different means is a

common occurrence. Hence we should especially develop "a hundred schools of thought contend" which will present facts and reasons. As a result of contending, views can perhaps gradually reach unanimity. It is also possible that each party will refuse to give way. And it does not matter if each refuses to yield. Allow each person to maintain his opinion. It does not really amount to anything to maintain an opinion for several hundred years. Take such a great book as "The Dream of Red Chamber." Are there not up to the present day still coexisting very different opinions on its main theme, the commentaries and analyses of certain character image within the work and the merits and demerits of its last 40 chapters?

Several days ago I saw an article by Comrade Xiao Defei which discussed the value assessment of Li Bai and Du Fu throughout the ages. Some acclaimed Li while putting down Du. Others acclaimed Du while putting down Li. Some acclaimed both Li and Du. Others put down both Li and Du. This kind of totally contradictory situation already existed during the times of Li and Du. At the time, He Zhizhang particularly appreciated Li Bai and hailed him as a "genius" whenever he met him, but he did not express anything toward Du Fu. A great writer of the time, Li Jing, was yet the opposite. He went to great lengths to seek advice from Du Fu who was more than 30 years his junior, but did not go for Li Bai that much. Aside from these, contemporary poets of Li and Du's times such as Gao Shi, Cen Can, Yan Wu, etc. inclined toward Du Fu. Jia Zhi, Wang Changling, etc. inclined yet toward Li Bai. Yuan Jie, who copied poetic works of the time and compiled a book called "Qie Zhong Ji," did not include even one work from the already world-famous Li and Du poetic productions. In addition, there were also Yuan Chen and Bai Juyi who first praised Du while putting down Li, and Yang Yi and Ou Yangxiu who later praised Li while putting down Du. During the seventies of the 20th century, our respectable lovable old Guo wrote a book conspicuously praising Li while playing down Du, which then led Comrade Xiao Difei to write this article...

If people's value assessment of the two great universally recognized poets can show such inconsistency (What should be pointed out is that this kind of long lasting inconsistency in value assessment does not hurt the greatness or immortality of Li and Du a bit), then the divergence of views in value assessment, even opposite views, toward writers and their works of the present time should not be taken as something strange or extraordinary. For instance, people's views toward a movie play "Inside Society's Files" and a medium-length novel "Fly Up to the Sky" stood poles apart, going in opposite directions. Some admired these two works with utmost enthusiasm and were utterly delighted by them. Letters of exaltation and support kept surging into the editorial department of these publications. There were even some who said that if "Inside Society's Files" was not made into a movie, the leaders concerned would become historical sinners and realism would perish. Meanwhile, there were some who tore up the publications and sent them back to the editorial department to manifest their protest and others who cursed "Inside Society's Files" as hooligan literature, and yet others who said that "Flying Up to the Sky" was a revival of the shallow

love-story style in another form and so on and so forth. If such serious divergence of opinions actually exist, why not let each speak his own and do some contending with one other? Of course during the process of contending words such as "hooligan literature," "shallow love-story style," "historical sinner" should be avoided. Labels and sticks should be forbidden. Gagging strategy (Whenever there are critical opinions, reasonable or not, labels such as "villains," "ultra-left" and "stiffness" were first served, then came the ugly posthumous titles such as "x trend" and "x school" to render the person helpless to speak at all) should be abolished.

No matter whether it is literary theory or literary work, all contain a divergence of views of one kind or other. This explains how at present we very much need a real and thorough development of "a hundred schools of thought contend" for everyone to come together to seek after the truth and to distinguish right from wrong through debates. By the way, I very much appreciate the essays of Zhuang Zhou but disagree with his concept of the absence of right and wrong in his "this is also that; that is also this. That has both a right and a wrong. This also has both a right and a wrong. Finally, is there still a this and a that? Or is there no longer a this and a that?" I also disagree with his nihilistic argument in the discussion on perception and in concepts of truth. I think Mr Lu Xun said that Zhuang Zi's concept of the absence of right and wrong was a kind of sophism. To put it in stronger terms, I would call it swindler-ism because on the one hand he sang out the high tone of the "absence of right and wrong" and on the other hand wrote a whole lot of very eloquent and argumentative essays, trying with his life to propagate his ideas and theories in the "absence of right and wrong," "similitude of life and death" and "renouncement of sages and abandonment of knowledge"—What did he mean by the absence of right and wrong? There is still right and wrong! It is only that "right" is he, Zhuang Zi; "wrong" is all other "schools." What is "right" is his concept of the absence of right and wrong and what is "wrong" is the concept of the presence of right and wrong of other people. Therefore I feel that anything similar to this concept of the "absence of right and wrong" is totally deceitful and we must not believe it to be true. Truth lies in objective existence, and the boundaries of right and wrong can never be erased. Right and wrong cannot be mixed up, cannot be neutralized, and most of all cannot be turned around! Right and wrong must be clearly distinguished. So we need "a hundred schools of thought contend." In the process of contending, none of the contenders should assume the position that he alone can reform, he alone is correct and he alone is respectable as if truth resides solely in his hands. Regarding a piece of work, we should not permit only ourselves to say it is good and forbid others to say it is not good. Otherwise that would be equivalent to allowing only one school to speak out. And let "a hundred schools of thought contend" and so forth—would it not become empty talk?

The memory of our comrades in Shanghai is still fresh with the years before the Great Cultural Revolution when Yao Wenyuan was the "favored son of heaven" in the literary world. A hundred schools of thought contend?

Sources revealed that there were in fact only two schools: The proletariat was one school and the bourgeoisie was the other. He, Yao Wenyuan, born of the proletarian school and his was the orthodox Marxism-Leninism. Whoever dared to contend with him would be called anti-proletariat and anti-Marxism-Leninism. The two ready-made labels of bourgeoisie and revisionist would be laid on his head and would make him henceforth unable to argue or speak out. In "a hundred schools of thought contend" we presently practice, we definitely must not employ this kind of "naming-him-bandit" strategy by first grabbing the laurel wreath of "the one school of the proletariat" to wear on our heads and entirely crush everyone of the rest of the schools. The numerous schools of thinkers under the socialist condition ought to be equal, friendly and comradely. The movement of contending ought to have a democratic character, ought to present facts and reason, ought to follow what is good and to win over others with reason.

As the ancient saying goes, "The wise, in thinking it over a thousand times, will somehow miss something. The stupid, in thinking it over a thousand times, will somehow get something right." Although the distinction between "the wise" and "the stupid" is hardly appropriate, it is a fact, however, that when one looks at the issues, it is hard to avoid overlooking some areas and that each has his shortcomings and faults. It is only through "a hundred schools of thought contend" that one can make up for weakness by acquiring other strong points and make up for losses by acquiring other gains, and that one-sidedness can diminish.

How are the hundred schools going to contend? There is no need to feel lost; no need to ask. Let go of yourself. Let go of anxieties and be bold. Start arguing. Start talking. That is how.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SUI DYNASTY POLITICIAN REHABILITATED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Apr 80 p 4

[Article by Tang Gengou [0781 5087 5096]: "Gao Jiong, an Important Prime Minister During the Sui Dynasty, Called a Politician, Military Strategist, and a Man of Action"]

[Text] As everyone knows, the Sui Dynasty was a brief but a very important dynasty with a system which was adopted by, and therefore, had had a far-reaching impact on, the succeeding dynasties, including the Tang Dynasty. Just as Marx and Engels said, "Each society of every era needs some great men of its own. If it does not have them, it will have to produce them." The Sui Dynasty was no exception, having also had some outstanding persons of its own. Typical was Gao Jiong, a key figure, on whom the Sui Dynasty pinned its hopes for survival. He was described by historians as "a man destined for a great political and military career and well-educated in public affairs." Under the feudal system, he was a politician and a military strategist as well as a man of action capable of handling complicated and difficult problems. He played a significant role in founding the Sui Dynasty, in achieving the unity of north and south China, in consolidating the united country, in strengthening the centralized government, in maintaining national stability, in giving the people peace and in bringing economic prosperity to the society of his time. Gao Jiong was a native of the State of Tiao near the Gulf of Bohai. His father Gao Bin [7559 6333] was advisor to Gen Dugu Xin [3747 1324 0207], minister of war of the Northern Zhou Dynasty and later became the governor of Ruo Province. At the age of 17, Gao Jiong began to serve as clerk of Prince Xian [2009] of the State of Qi. He was later appointed a junior official during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou Dynasty and promoted to a governorship position for his participation in the war for quelling an uprising in the State of Qi. Yang Jian [2799 1017] was the son-in-law of Gen Dugu Xin and met Gao Jiong long ago, "regarding him as a highly intelligent man, familiar with military affairs, and skilled in planning." Toward the end of the Northern Zhou Dynasty, Yang Jian became prime minister. Before attempting to force the monarch to abdicate and put himself on the throne, he sent an envoy to inform Gao Jiong of his plan in hopes of getting Gao Jiong's help. Gao Jiong cheerfully agreed and said in the presence of the envoy: "It is my pleasure to serve him, and I am willing to accept any consequence even if the plan fails."

In other words, Gao Jiong resolutely supported this plan. While remaining as prime minister Yang Jian appointed Gao Jiong to be secretary of his office.

Soon the conservative forces of the Northern Zhou Dynasty led by Wei Chijiong [1414 6688 6608], governor of Xiang Province, mounted an attack against the forces under Yang Jian. But a crisis erupted when the generals sent by Yang Jian to command forces to suppress the attackers disputed over the strategic matters. Just as Yang Jian was having difficulty finding any proper person to mediate that dispute, Gao Jiong voluntarily stepped forward to serve as a troubleshooter. After arriving on the front, Gao Jiong swiftly moved to rally the disputed generals behind him and led them and their troops in quickly defeating the rebels led by Wei Chijiong. In this way, he removed the last obstacle for Yang Jian to become the founding monarch of the Sui Dynasty in place of the Northern Zhou Dynasty. After returning triumphantly from the front, Gao Jiong was promoted to minister of war under the prime minister and became the most powerful and most trusted assistant to Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty. When Yang Jian founded the Sui Dynasty and made himself its emperor in 581, Gao Jiong was appointed prime minister and concurrent ombudsman and imperial commander in defense of the capital. In other words, he was not only prime minister but also commander of the garrison forces in the capital. Whenever Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty was away from the capital, he would entrust Gao Jiong with all imperial duties, including the defense of the capital. As a loyal and faithful assistant to Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty, Gao Jiong "devoted several years to instituting a new government system and criminal procedures and reforming the old ones and bringing about order across the land." Almost every victory and success scored by Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty were associated with Gao Jiong's meritorious services.

He presided over the review and evaluation of the government and civil service systems, criminal laws and other regulations of the previous dynasties, and used them as a basis for developing a comprehensive Sui Dynasty system which proved not only instrumental in consolidating the newly united country of the Sui Dynasty but also useful to the Tang and other succeeding dynasties.

On the financial and economic fronts, Gao Jiong was concerned not only with the continued implementation of the land equalization law but also with the tax reduction program. Worth special mention was his proposal for the implementation of a household registration regulation. Gao Jiong based his proposal on the fact that since the Eastern Han Dynasty, under the increasing pressure of the heavy tax burdens imposed by the government, many civilian households elected to live behind the shield of the powerful and influential intellectuals and landlords, thus freeing themselves from government control. Although the imperial court often used brutal force in an effort to reverse the tide, it still proved fruitless. The reason was that whenever the state imposed taxes beyond peasants' ability to pay or in excess of their land rent, they would be forced to flee to the

domains of intellectuals and landlords, to work as tenant-peasants and to live behind the latter's shadow. This tendency took place despite the strong administrative measure to prevent them from doing so. On the basis of Gao Jiong's proposal, the government of the Sui Dynasty adopted a "disappeared household restoration" measure to encourage the "idle guests of those powerful families to register with the government and reduce their taxes to a level less than what they paid to their hosts who shielded them." Eventually, this measure proved remarkably effective. In this connection, Du You [2629 0147] said: "The Sui Dynasty's prosperity should be attributed to Gao Jiong's tax reduction regulation which induced vagrants to register with the government. Consequently, subjects of the Sui Dynasty enjoyed affluence with their warehouses filled with goods."

Gao Jiong also proved himself a very competent military strategist and an outstanding supreme commander of the armed forces known for his distinguished services. He took part in the policy-making process that led to the conquest of the Chen Dynasty. In this process, he drafted the offensive plan, selected the commanding officers, deployed forces to be backed up with logistic supports, and worked out a strategy to smash the enemy troops. In October 588, he led a 518,000-man ground and naval force southward toward the territory of the Chen Dynasty and launched an offensive along the Yangtze River stretching for several thousand kilometers ranging from the East China Sea to Sichuan in the west. In the spring of the next year, his advance unit triumphantly seized Jiankang, the capital of the Chen Dynasty, and captured alive the last monarch of the Chen Dynasty, thus marking an end to the nearly 300-year-old division of the country and the beginning of a united China. This was really a very significant historical event. Although the balance of strength between both sides was the decisive factor that led the Sui Dynasty forces to win a quick victory, it could not be separated from Gao Jiong's excellent plans and correct guidelines. Gao Jiong also won wars against the Turks several times in his capacity as the supreme commander of the armed forces of the Sui Dynasty.

Gao Jiong not only could do his own work outstandingly well but also was capable of uniting talents of all shades to serve the cause of the Sui Dynasty. Almost all famous Sui Dynasty civil service and military officials owed their successes to his recommendations. Historians described Gao Jiong as "a prime minister who did his best to recommend people of integrity and competence to serve his country and who considered the transformation of the world as his duty. Su Wei [5685 1218], Yang Su [2799 4790], He Ruobi [6320 5387 1732], and Han Qinhu [7281 2350 5706] were all recommended by Gao Jiong to serve their respective posts well and subsequently enjoyed a good reputation for serving the Sui Dynasty with distinction. Other outstanding public service workers recommended by him were too numerous to mention here." Equally amazing was his ability to persuade disappointed Cabinet ministers in the civil service and military

fields to change their minds to quit and to actively serve the Sui Dynasty again. Because the Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty ordered Wang Yi [3769 6146], Yu Wenxin [1324 2429 1823], Liang Shiyan [2733 1102 1750] and many other outstanding military officers killed in a fit of jealousy, many living generals were disheartened and unwilling to serve the Sui Dynasty again. Among them was a famous general He Ruobi who was once unwilling to assume the responsibility for mounting a frontal attack on Jiankang before the war on the Chen Dynasty was declared. He told Gao Jiong that "Chen Shubao [7115 0647 1405], the last monarch of the Chen Dynasty, can be defeated; but I am unwilling to dislodge him in such a time of peace." Gao Jiong said: "You are wrong," and eventually prevailed on He Ruobi to accept the new assignment. Gao Jiong also protected capable generals from being wrongly charged and punished by Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty. In 598, 18 years after the founding of the Sui Dynasty, Emperor Wen once ordered Shi Wansui [0670 8001 2979] to be executed in a fit of anger, and recanted his execution order after Gao Jiong intervened to save his life. Gao Jiong argued in his majesty's presence: "Shi Wansui is an exceedingly capable general. He displayed heroism in every operation. He is good at exhilarating and encouraging soldiers to fight heroically, and is unsurpassed in warfare by the most famous generals of the previous dynasties." Gao Jiong's resolute intervention saved the life of Shi Wansui, giving the latter an opportunity to fight well many battles against the Turks, battles which merited commendation.

Always bearing the public interest in mind, Gao Jiong played neither favoritism nor nepotism with those near and dear to him, including princes and senior Cabinet officials. He never wanted to cover up mistakes. Following the conquest of the Chen Dynasty, Gao Jiong received a note from Prince Yang Guang [2799 1639], titular supreme commander of the armed forces of the Sui Dynasty, advising him not to kill Chen Shubao's most favorite concubine Zhang Lihua [1728 7787 5478] and to bring her to Yang Guang as a tribute. But Gao Jiong ignored this note and ordered her executed against Yang Guang's wishes. In 593, 13 years after the founding of the Sui Dynasty, under Yang Su's supervision, the Renshou Palace was being built at the great expense of the people's property and lives. In a report to Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty, Gao Jiong said: "This luxurious project will cost our country lives and hurt the economy." He did everything in the interest of the Sui Dynasty and was never afraid of offending princes and senior Cabinet ministers.

He was loyal to Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty. He never fawned on the latter with any vulgar flattery, although he had to carry out his majesty's assignments with great care and speed. He even risked offending his Majesty and his own life to remind the latter of his wrong decisions. When Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty planned to name his second son Yang Guang instead of his first son Yang Yong [2799 0516] as crown prince, Gao Jiong expressed his strong opposition and knelt before his majesty with the following clearcut admonition: "This imperial seniority tradition cannot

be nullified." Later, Gao Jiong also opposed his majesty's decision to mount an attack on Korea, considering it a wrong idea. Facts proved that these two decisions by Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty were mistakes causing its downfall in a short period of time.

During the Sui Dynasty, Gao Jiong enjoyed a prestige and an eminent position unsurpassed by any other Cabinet ministers. But he had neither ambition for advancing himself nor any intention to use his authority to expand his own influence and increase his personal prestige. In addition to crediting every achievement to his majesty and other Cabinet ministers, Gao Jiong never revealed the substance of his communications to his majesty to anybody else.

"He destroyed all his secret and strategically important policy statement papers before anybody could know their details." Gao Jiong was so humble that he always wanted to heap praises on others. He even hesitated to mention his contributions to the victory over the Chen Dynasty, contributions surpassed by none of his Cabinet ministers. When asked by his majesty to comment on his achievements in relation to that of Gen He Ruobi in the battle for conquering the Chen Dynasty, Gao Jiong replied: "I am merely an ordinary civil service officer and do not dare steal the show away from our great Gen He Ruobi, who must be commended for his 10-point war plan and for fighting heroically for controlling the Jiangshan stronghold." As a matter of fact, He Ruobi was recommended by Gao Jiong first to the position of the governor of Wu Province and then to the commander of the main force against the Chen Dynasty. Gao Jiong was widely respected by the subjects of the Sui Dynasty and was described by historians as "a prime minister highly esteemed by the people both in and outside the government and criticized by none during his 20 years in office." It was said that the overwhelming majority of civil service and military officials of the Sui Dynasty sincerely held him in high esteem and paid him their due respect from the bottom of their hearts.

Gao Jiong's role in the politics of the Sui Dynasty was unanimously endorsed by the politicians and historians of the Tang Dynasty. In addition to hailing his contributions to the prosperity and stability of the Sui Dynasty, they also "likened his stature as a prime minister to such previous famous prime ministers as Xiao He [5618 5440] of the Han Dynasty, Zhu Geliang [6175 5514 0081] of the Three Kingdoms, Yi Yin [0122 1438] of the Shang Dynasty and Lu Shang [0712 1424] of the Zhou Dynasty, and was unmatched by other prime ministers of the succeeding dynasties." This comment is worth further analysis. Undeniably, Gao Jiong was the no 1 hero during the Sui Dynasty and Emperor Wen's best and most commendable assistant, and played a tremendous role in founding, consolidating and expanding the power of the Sui Dynasty. Emperor Wen, who relied on Gao Jiong heavily for advice and trusted him, described him as "a God-sent good prime minister who spared no effort to serve his kingdom sincerely." During his nearly 20 years as the prime minister, beginning from 581, the

year in which the Sui Dynasty was founded, "his advice on political affairs and criminal procedures was frequently sought by the emperor before any policy was promulgated and put into effect." Gao Jiong was the supreme commander of the major operations against the Chen Dynasty in the south, the Turks in the north and Korea in the east. Anyone who tried to drive a wedge between the emperor and Gao Jiong was either banished from his office or sentenced to death. Gao Jiong was also respected by Emperor Wen on many other occasions. But in 599, 19 years after the founding of the Sui Dynasty, Gao Jiong was implicated in the case of Wang Shiji [3769 0013 4480], governor of Liang Province, who was sentenced to death by Emperor Wen on sedition charges. Gao Jiong was subsequently convicted of revealing state secrets to Wang Shiji and receiving a thoroughbred horse as a gift from the latter. Emperor Wen on the Sui Dynasty flew into a rage upon hearing many civil service and military officials take turns in defense of Gao Jiong's innocence, and temporarily ended the case by dismissing Gao Jiong from his premiership. Later, Gao Jiong was arrested and jailed on charges of attempting to stage a coup d'etat, an excuse used by Emperor Wen to get rid of Gao Jiong. At first, Emperor Wen wanted to sentence Gao Jiong to death, but backed away from this decision after considering that "an execution of Gao Jiong following the execution of Yu Qingze [5713 1987 0463] and Wang Shiji in 2 years would not be tolerated by the world." Finally, Gao Jiong was freed and became a commoner until he was killed by Yang Guang following his ascension to the throne. A hero died of a false charge. "His death plunged the world into deep grief," and he was even mourned by the people during the succeeding Tang Dynasty, who called his dismissal from office a miscarriage of justice.

Gao Jiong should not be held responsible for his dismissal from office, because he committed no crime, and because he was all along loyal to Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty and faithful to his duty, and handled the political and military affairs of the Sui Dynasty carefully. In the event of disagreement between him and Emperor Wen, Gao Jiong always followed the rule applying to the traditional relationship between a monarch and his prime minister. In dealing with the state affairs, he first submitted his proposals for consideration by Emperor Wen. He never questioned the wisdom of his majesty's decision and always was prepared to carry it out even if he considered that decision no good. For example, in 598, 18 years after the founding of the Sui Dynasty, he disagreed with Emperor Wen on mounting an attack on Korea, but felt obliged to carry out the latter's order after being named the supreme commander of the expedition to Korea. In 599, 19 years after the founding of the Sui Dynasty, he was relieved of his duty as the prime minister. He accepted this decision with composure and "equanimity," because he felt that he broke no law and did nothing wrong. He was well aware that Emperor Wen was a man jealous of heroes with whom he once worked. He once voluntarily tendered his resignation as the prime minister and recommended Su Wei [5685 1218] to succeed him in order to reduce his influence and avoid arousing suspicion and unexpected disasters. In the nearly 20 years of his premiership, he was

consistently prudent in handling state affairs. He had neither intention to concentrate power on himself nor desire to display his talent and dazzle the people with his achievements. He even destroyed all his secret proposals to the emperor in order to prevent the people from gaining access to them. Then why did Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty still want to get rid of Gao Jiong?

The first reason was that Gao Jiong opposed nullifying Yang Yong and renaming Yang Guang as crown prince. Yang Guang was second son or the most beloved son of the royal couple. He was smart from the time he was a small boy. After becoming the duke of the state of Jin and titular supreme commander of the nation, he took advantage of the favorable conditions provided by vassal states to build up his own influence. After applying double-dealing tactics to win over to his side his parents and their trust, Yang Guang ganged up with senior political Yang Su in conveying wrong information to his mother Empress Dugu on "the stupidity of the crown prince," as well as an idea that "Yang Guang, the duke of the state of Jin, is a man of brotherly love, and a man of dignity and frugality capable of commanding popular respect." On the other hand, Yang Guang also won over to his side those sycophant courtiers in the East Palace and secured their services in gathering information on Crown Prince Yang Yong, information Yang Guang could use as a basis for leveling false charges against his brother and for persuading his father Yang Jian to quickly make up his mind by nullifying Yang Yong and renaming Yang Guang as crown prince. Gao Jiong was not aware of this conspiracy. When Emperor Wen solicited Gao Jiong's opinion on renaming the crown prince, Gao Jiong used the traditional seniority succession system as the reason to persuade the emperor not to name his second son Yang Guang as crown prince. But this advice only served to further steel the emperor's determination to change the crown prince and to arouse his suspicion about Gao Jiong's ambition. The emperor reasoned that Gao Jiong opposed this change because Crown Prince Yang Yong was his son-in-law, and if Yang Guang were renamed crown prince, Gao Jiong's position as prime minister would become shaky. Empress Dugu also insisted on nullifying Yang Yong and renaming Yang Guang as crown prince so that she could get rid of Gao Jiong. Gao Jiong's refusal to go along with the plan for changing the crown prince was the primary factor that led to his downfall.

The second reason was that Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty regarded calumny as truth. Gao Jiong spent nearly 20 years serving the Sui Dynasty as prime minister. His eminent position and rising prestige naturally made Emperor Wen feel jealous and uneasy. Meanwhile, the premiership was a position sought after by many other Cabinet members of his time. Holding that position too long would also draw criticism from those courtiers of the Sui Dynasty who were jealous of it. Eventually calumnies accusing Gao Jiong of wielding too much power and attempting to stage a coup d'etat reached Emperor Wen. Empress Dugu also took the opportunity to feed her husband's ears with false accusations. She said: "Your Majesty, Gao

Jiong was cheating and therefore could not be trusted." Some people even spread the rumor that "Gao Jiong once called himself No 1 man under heaven." Emperor Wen was a jealous man who resented his prestige being tarnished by his Cabinet ministers. He felt that if Gao Jiong were not removed, he would become an obstacle to Yang Guang's ascension to the throne. This reasoning steeled the emperor's determination to get rid of Gao Jiong.

Removing Gao Jiong from office was the biggest mistake Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty committed during his reign. To Emperor Wen, Gao Jiong's dismissal meant cutting off an arm and yanking the main beam from under the roof. From then on, the emperor lost his most competent and faithful prime minister; the power of the Sui Dynasty began a downward movement toward collapse from its zenith. In 560, 20 years after the founding of the Sui Dynasty or 1 year after Gao Jiong was dismissed from office, with the connivance of Yang Su, Yang Yong was nullified and Yang Guang was renamed crown prince; Yang Xiu [2799-4423] was deposed as the duke of Sichuan; cases of people being unjustly charged and sentenced to jail terms emerged one after another; a number of civil service and military officials were either jailed or killed. Consequently, power fell into the hands of Yang Guang, Yang Su and other conspirators, thus making Emperor Wen merely a figurehead of the state, isolated from the people. In 604, the fourth year of the Renshou reign, Emperor Wen was strangled to death by the crown prince of his own choosing--Yang Guang, thus ending his life in tragedy. But Emperor Wen's positive contributions to the development of history should be recognized. He summed up lessons of the previous dynasties, looked into the causes of their downfall, and adopted a series of measures in hopes of insuring the stability and longevity of his dynasty. He placed strict demands on himself, held daily court meetings in defiance of fatigue, and practiced frugality in private life. He never condoned wrongdoings by princes. He attached importance to the candidacy of crown prince and placed strict demands on him. As the founding monarch of the Sui Dynasty, he considered it important to keep in close touch with the people. While on an inspection tour, he would stop his carriage when seeing petitioners and would personally listen to their grievances. He frequently sent ombudsmen to gather information on the commoners' plight and their reaction to the policies in force. He was interested in knowing everything in the country. But Yang Guang, the crown prince he selected to replace his first mediocre son was worse than his elder brother because he was a double-dealer, careerist and conspirator. In order to prevent his Cabinet ministers from turning their back on him, he killed many of them, thus estranging himself from the people. No sooner was Gao Jiong murdered than Emperor Wen himself was strangled to death. This was a historical tragedy. Under the feudal and autocratic system, such tragedy kept repeating itself and could not be avoided.

PARTY AND STATE

WANG DONGXING'S POLITICAL CAREER REVIEWED

Hong Kong DONGXIANG [TREND] in Chinese No 18, 16 Mar 80 pp 18-20

[Article by Mou Yide [3664 0001 1795]: "The Rise and Fall of the Political Star of Wang Dongxing"]

[Text] The "Anything That Has Been" faction headed by Wang Dongxing finally met its downfall in the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The communique reads: "In accordance with the views of the broad masses inside and outside the party, the Fifth Plenary Session decided to approve the requests to resign made by comrades Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengku, Wu De and Chen Xilian and decided to remove them from their leading party and state posts." Although it is a voluntary "resignation," the "views of the broad masses inside and outside the party" before it and the words "decided to remove and propose to remove" after it plainly show their downfall.

Close Relationship With Mao Zedong

Wang Dongxing has lived quite a dramatic life. The rise and fall of his political star can be said to have been closely related to Mao Zedong.

Judged from the standpoint of the Communist Party, Wang Dongxing's personal background is almost impeccable. A native of Taihe County of Jiangxi Province, he was born in 1916 of a poor peasant family and lost his parents in his early age. His childhood was spent in dire poverty. When the revolutionary storm swept over Hunan and Jiangxi in 1927, he joined the "Little Red Devils"--the Young Pioneers of the Communist Party. Later, he joined the Red Army and took up guard duty under the Guards Bureau of the Fujian-Jiangxi Military Region. He hardly received any regular education.

This was how he became Mao Zedong's bodyguard. This job, now coming to think of it, formed a milestone in Wang Dongxing's political career. For a long time after that, he was responsible for Mao's personal safety, and this responsibility enabled him to rise rapidly on the political stage.

During the Zunyi Conference of 1935, Wang was in charge of security at the site of the meeting. After this, he became head of the bodyguard squad for Mao Zedong.

After the arrival of the Red Army in northern Shaanxi, Mao's bodyguard squad was expanded into a 30-strong "Pistol Squad" with Wang in command. The "Pistol Squad" was then under the "Central Guards Corps." Later, it was expanded into the "Central Security Corps" which was the predecessor of the "8341 Unit." Wang was the deputy chief of staff of a branch unit of this corps.

When the Kuomintang army attacked Yanan in 1947, Mao Zedong and the other Central Committee members including Zhou Enlai had to leave this place with the Kuomintang troops in hot pursuit. At that time, there were only four infantry companies left with several hundred rifles, and not even a single trench mortar, to protect the Central Headquarters members. Wong Dongxing volunteered to fight the rear guard action, and, through a series of tactical maneuvers, he managed to lead the Kuomintang troops onto a false trail. The Central Headquarters members were then able to withdraw safely. This performance further impressed Mao, and Wang's position rose even more rapidly. In the spring of 1949, Wang was promoted to be the political commissar of the First Division of the Central Column, and began to take charge of an important intelligence network for the CCP Central Committee. Within 6 months, he was further promoted to deputy political commissar of the Central Column.

In October 1949, when the Chinese communist political power had already been established, Wang Dongxing was appointed deputy director of the secretariat of the State Administrative Council and concurrently director of the Guards Section. Soon he was appointed chief of the No 6 Public Security Bureau. Despite the frequent changes of his titles, his duty was quite consistent, namely, to protect Mao Zedong's personal safety. Thus, when Mao Zedong visited Moscow in the fall of 1949, Wang Dongxing was with him as bodyguard.

Incident of Bugging by Yang Shangkun

From 1951 to 1958, Wang was appointed vice minister of Public Security (Luo Ruiqing [5012 3843 0615] was the minister). In addition, Wang held two unpublicized posts: chief of the party Central Guard Bureau and the director and political commissar of the Central Guards Corps which was affiliated with the Bureau. This special military security unit is known as the "8341 Unit," which is 10,000-strong and responsible for the security of the CCP Central Committee including the policing of the residential areas of the top Central Committee members in Beijing and other cities, and the arrangement of itineraries for their inspection trips.

From 1958 to 1960, Wang Dongxing was relieved of his duty as the vice minister of Public Security and in the "8341 Unit," and sent to his home

province to take up the post of vice governor (Shao Shiping [6730 1709 1627] was then the governor). He was in charge of the agricultural department and also held the post of party committee secretary of the newly established Communist Labor University. People took this as a sign of setback in Wang's political life, but the truth was that the Beijing leaders, particularly Mao Zedong, were then advocating the idea of sending "cadres to the basic level units" and "military leaders to the army companies" for the purpose of restoring the cadres' vitality and improving the relations between officers and men, and cadres and people. As Mao's favorite subordinate, Wang naturally took the lead.

After 2 quiet years in Jiangxi, Wang Dongxing returned to Beijing to resume his clandestine work. From 1961 to 1965, his name rarely appeared in newspapers. There was then a clash between Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi on a series of political issues, and Wang was deeply involved. He took Mao's side. In 1965, the fighters of the "8341 Unit" were dispatched to various provinces and regions to collect materials to be used to promote Mao's socialist education policy and to discredit Liu Shaoqi's policies in directing this movement.

Besides supporting Mao Zedong's program and policies, Wang was in charge of the clandestine supervision over other party leaders. The discovery of the so-called bugging of Mao's office by Yang Shangkun, director of the CCP Central Committee Staff Office, was an outstanding performance of Wang Dongxing. As soon as the Cultural Revolution began, Wang was promoted to replace Yang.

Participation in the Frame-Up of Liu Shaoqi

After the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee in August 1966, Liu Shaoqi was deprived of all his powers. Soon the Central Committee Secretariat was abolished, and the Central Committee Staff Office became a standing organ to handle the day-to-day affairs of the Central Committee. Wang Dongxing was the director of this staff office, which marked a new phase of his political career.

In the Ninth CCP National Congress held in April 1969, Wang Dongxing was designated alternate Political Bureau member. Thus we can definitely say that Wang was one of those who had benefited from the Cultural Revolution. The tactics he used to get into the core of the CCP leadership probably cannot stand public scrutiny, as the recent rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi, among others, has shown. At that time, Wang was in charge of Liu Shaoqi's special case, and what the special case group under him had gathered was nothing but a collection of planted evidences.

In 1971, Lin Biao's "13 September" coup d'etat failed, and Wang Dongxing became a member of the Special Case Group of the "Lin Biao Antiparty Group" case. The development of his power ushered him into the CCP

Central Intelligence and Special Service Organization, and his position was then second only to that of Kang Sheng.

In 1973, the CCP convened the 10th National Congress, and Wang Dongxing rose to the position of Political Bureau member. Subsequently, while Deng Xiaoping returned to office with Zhou Enlai's support, Wang Hongwen was also catapulted to a top-level position. Because of the deterioration of Mao's health, an intraparty struggle was brewing behind the scene over the question of succession.

In this struggle, Wang Dongxing was on the one hand supporting the Cultural Revolution radical group headed by Jiang Qing, in order to preserve his own gains from the Cultural Revolution, as shown by the action of the "8341 Unit" in suppressing the demonstration in the Tiananmen Incident on the other hand, he also endeavored to maintain his good relations with the veteran leaders because of certain contradiction between the "gang of four" and himself. Deng Yingchao said on one occasion that after Zhou Enlai's death, Wang protected her from being harmed by the "gang of four."

His Meritorious Deed in Eliminating the "Gang of Four"

During the tense moments in October 1976 after Mao's death, Wang Dongxing, after considering the overall situation, threw in his lot with Hua Guofeng and Ye Jianying, and commanded the "8431 Unit" in the dramatic arrest of the "gang of four," thus bringing about an abrupt change in China's political situation.

His fateful decision after Mao Zedong's death led him to the position of vice chairman of the Presidium and concurrently the chief secretary of the 11th CCP National Congress held in 1977. In the 1st Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, he was elected vice chairman and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. He was then one of the top five in the CCP hierarchy.

However, his deep involvement in the Cultural Revolution had already implanted a time bomb beside him before his spectacular ascendancy. On the first anniversary of Zhou Enlai's death in January 1977, and on the first anniversary of the Tiananmen Incident, the people of Beijing and the whole country strongly demanded the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping and his return to power as well as the rehabilitation of the Tiananmen Incident.

Obstruction to Deng Xiaoping's Return to Power

The same demand was made in the CCP Central Committee meeting by many of the participants, but Wang Dongxing was the first to point out that the Two Resolutions were made by Mao Zedong, and that, to preserve Mao Zedong's prestige, they can never be trifled with. Thus he positively opposed Deng Xiaoping's return. Later, under strong pressure from the

majority of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau Standing Committee members, he consented to let Deng Xiaoping return only on the conditions that there should not be conflict with the "7 April Resolutions" which had been approved by Mao Zedong and that there should be no fanfare whatsoever. He firmly opposed the rehabilitation of the Tiananmen Incident, because it would mean that the "7 April Resolutions" were erroneous, in which case, even Hua Guofeng's position would be jeopardized. He was using Mao Zedong and Hua Guofeng as his shield. However, was he really attempting to protect Mao Zedong and Hua Guofeng, or to protect himself? Everyone understood clearly, though they said nothing about it.

In a Political Bureau meeting held after the 11th CCP Central Committee, Wang Dongxing said that while it was necessary to sum up experiences, it should be done within limits. He reiterated that "anything that has been decided by Chairman Mao, we must firmly support; anything that has been decided on Chairman Mao's instruction we must unswervingly follow." These words were carried in the newspapers as the famous doctrine of the "Anything That Has Been" Faction.

His Suppression of the Discussion of the "Criterion of Truth"

The article "Practice Is the Sole Criterion for the Testing of Truth" by Professor Hu Fuming [5170 4395 2494], of Nanjing Academy of Sciences, carried by RENMIN RIBAO and GUANGMING RIBAO in May 1978 heralded a counter-offensive against the "Anything That Has Been" Faction. Wang Dongxing knew that the development of this issue would jeopardize his position. Therefore, after forming an alliance of several Political Bureau members including Ji Dengkui, Chen Xilian and Wu De, and using the same methods of literary inquisitions as those used during the Cultural Revolution, he charged that the essence of this article was the reference to Mao Zedong Thought as "shackles" and "forbidden zones," and that the article was "theoretically absurd, ideologically reactionary and politically 'hacking the banner.'" With his authority over party affairs and propaganda, he directed Li Xin [2621 9515] and Zhang Pinghua [1728 1627 0553], who were then directly responsible for propaganda work, to apply pressure on RENMIN RIBAO, GUANGMING RIBAO and JIEFANGJUN BAO, and to organize a rebuttal through the party journals.

In early June 1978, Deng Xiaoping criticized Wang Dongxing without mentioning his name at the All-Army Political Work Conference, saying: "Some comrades talk about Mao Zedong Thought every day but often forget, abandon or even oppose Chairman Mao's fundamental Marxist view and method of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality in doing everything and integrating theory with practice. Furthermore, some people even maintain that whoever persists in seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice is guilty of a heinous crime. In essence, their view is that one may only copy straight from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and from Chairman Mao and should rest content with

mechanical copying, transmitting and reproduction." However, Wang refused to accept Deng's criticism, and RED FLAG, which was then under his control, refused to carry any article on "practice as the criterion of truth." He tried to give the impression that the discussion on the criterion of truth was a purely academic one.

Counterattack in a Central Committee Work Conference

In early September, ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN [CHINA YOUTH] resumed publication, and carried an article on the evaluation of Mao Zedong by seeking truth from facts. Wang Dongxing banned this issue on the pretext that it would jeopardize stability and unity. His action caused an uproar throughout the country.

Despite his great achievement in helping eliminate the "gang of four," what he did in the past 2 years and more was a source of constant obstruction to the continual development of the CCP. At the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee held in the fall of 1978, Wang Dongxing was severely criticized, and some committee members even demanded his dismissal and investigation. Later, Hua Guofeng's idea of "solving problems as well as stabilizing the situation" was accepted in the Plenary Session, and Wang Dongxing was able to keep his official title, although he was relieved of his duty in the Central Committee Staff Office and in propaganda work.

However, Wang Dongxing refused to give up his "Anything That Has Been" viewpoint. In the Central Committee Work Conference held in April 1979, he took advantage of the imbalance in the national economy, the short-of-the-goal Vietnam War, and the disorderly democratic movement, and opposed the spirit of the Third Plenary Session. He attributed these three problems to the line decided in this plenary session and asked: "Are we taking the socialist or the capitalist road after all?" The spearhead was directed at Deng Xiaoping, on whom he was applying pressure.

In workstyle, Wang Dongxing still retained his Cultural Revolution habits. He used official funds lavishly, and in building the Wang Mansion in Zhongnanhai, he spent more than 6,927,000 yuan (equivalent to U.S. 4 million and 10 million Hong Kong dollars). This news aroused great indignation among the people. Later, at the Second Session of the Fifth People's National Congress, he admitted his errors and moved back to his former house.

At a Political Bureau Conference held in late September 1979, Wang Dongxing examined himself and submitted his "resignation" so that he could "reexamine his own action and start all over again." This ended a phase of his political career.

PARTY AND STATE

STUDENTS OF HISTORY REASSESS EMPRESS LU

Hong Kong DONGXIANG [TREND] in Chinese No 18, 16 Mar 80 pp 29-31

[Article by Zi Lin [1311 3829]: "The Trend of History Study in China as Reflected From the Reassessment of Empress Lu's Role in History"]

[Text] Students of history in Beijing have recently sounded a discordant note in the assessment of Empress Lu.

When the "gang of four" was in power, Empress Lu was lauded as the first female Legalist. However, after their downfall Empress Lu's name also plummeted, and in the criticism of the "gang of four" in the past several years, Empress Lu was described as a "vicious and treacherous conspirator," "a capitulationist reactionary after usurping power," "a big careerist who had usurped state power" and "a representative of the separatist force which ran counter to the historical current in the early Han Dynasty." There was hardly any disagreement among the students of history on such an assessment.

It cannot be denied that Jiang Qing has been lauded by her cohorts as the modern Empress Lu. It was precisely for this reason that Empress Lu was condemned as the personification of all evil forces without a single redeeming feature, and nobody dare to raise any dissenting voice in the past several years. The reason is quite simple: People feared that an accurate assessment of Empress Lu would be branded as an attempt to reverse the verdict on Jiang Qing.

'LISHI YANJIU' [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] First Sang a Different Tune

With the deepening of the discussion on practice as the criterion of truth, the taboo on the evaluation of Empress Lu has finally lifted.

The article by Deng Jingyuan [6772 4842 0337], entitled "How To Correctly Assess Empress Lu," carried in LISHI YANJIU of Beijing has for the first time systematically and openly assessed Empress Lu in a different light, and this different assessment was made in defense of historical facts.

With a host of historical data, this article showed Empress Lu as a historical figure who should be affirmed.

The article held that Empress Lu did play a positive role in the development of history mainly because she helped Liu Bang [0491 6721] to unify the empire and to carry out the policy of "giving the people a rest."

After citing recorded historical facts, the article pointed out: After Liu Bang became emperor, the princes of other clans collaborated with the Huns and posed a threat to Liu Bang's undertaking to unify the country, and it was Empress Lu who helped Liu Bang to eliminate this threat from Han Xin [7281 0207] and Peng Yue [1756 6390], thus enabling Liu Bang to accomplish his great undertaking. The article also said: Giving the people a rest during the early years of West Han, judged from the standpoint of national unification and economic development, was then consistent with the development of history, and the policy to "give the people a rest" was initiated by Empress Lu herself.

As to the accusation that Empress Lu usurped the throne, the article pointed out: Liu Pang deposed Liu Ying [0491 4134] and put the Prince of Zhao, Ru Yi [11/2 1942] in his place, because Empress Lu's request to this effect had the tacit approval of the ministers who had rendered outstanding service. This action was therefore justified as a means of preventing a serious upheaval.

Dealing with the criticism of her treachery and abuse of power, the article pointed out: Empress Lu's bestowal of principalities to the Lu's was the cause of unrest. Though motivated by her desire to preserve peace at that time, her action finally resulted in an irreconcilable confrontation between the Lu and the Liu clans. This was her mistake. However, for a long time in China's feudal society, it was an unwritten law for feudal emperors to expand the influence of their aristocrats in order to maintain a balance of power among various ruling groups of the ruling class. This mistake was a by-product of feudalism itself. Which of the Han emperors in the early part of the Han Dynasty from Liu Bang, the founder, to Emperor Wen, Emperor Jing and Emperor Wu did not do the same thing? In this respect, we should not be too harsh in our demands on Empress Lu.

We Must Not Impose a Modern Standard on Ancient People

As to some people's criticism of Empress Lu's atrocity, the article pointed out: Empress Lu broke the limbs of Madam Qi [2058], plucked out her eyeballs, turned her into a deaf-mute and imprisoned her in a latrine like a "human swine." She was indeed cruel. The use of power to inflict injury on others is a form of punishment used by the feudal ruling class, frequently seen in history. However, in assessing historical figures, we cannot base our judgment on their deeds motivated by personal animosity.

Some critics have called Empress Lu a "capitulationist reactionary after usurping power." In this connection, the article pointed out that matrimonial relation with the Huns was an indispensable condition for the Han Dynasty to preserve peace and to practice the policy to "give the people a rest." This was then a correct policy initiated by Liu Bang himself.

As to the charge of conspiracy and careerism by some critics, the article said: All these are modern concepts. In the opinion of the feudal politicians, conspiracy and careerism were some form of feudal privilege in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. There is a long history behind this privilege and historical records have never tried to conceal them. The article asked: In assessing historical figures today, if we only base our judgment on some abstract moral concepts instead of their role on historical development, can it be a historical materialist approach?

Although not fully convincing, this article is nevertheless an assessment of Empress Lu from the historical point of view. It is true that if we negate Empress Lu completely, many clues to the study of the political and economic development in the early Han Dynasty will be obliterated and an explanation of the development will be difficult.

A New Forward Step Toward Practicality

Reassessment of Empress Lu is a new forward step toward "practicality" in the study of history.

For a very long time, historical research in China has willingly or semi-willingly deviated from the practical line.

In writing the party history, for instance, people held that the CCP is a glorious, great and correct party, and therefore all ugly and negative features including deeds of conspiracy must be kept out of the party history to avoid tarnishing its brilliance. Thus, in presenting party leaders and party activists, the good ones are considered infallible and the bad ones are considered incorrigible. Some people have even tried to imitate the style of the "Spring-Autumn Annals," and write about the past according to today's viewpoint, or according to their subjective wishes regardless of historical data. In this way, all achievements were credited to the positive figures and all defects and mistakes were charged to the negative figures. There are numerous such instances.

For example, in the biography of Qu Qiubai [4234 4428 4101], his "Unnecessary Remarks" alone was enough to brand him as a renegade, and subsequently, the history of Qu Qiubai's period is highlighted by the struggle between the CCP's correct line and Qu Qiubai's reactionary line, and no attempt was made to analyze the relations between his pessimism and the actual conditions at that time. There was no mention of his self-struggle despite his pessimism, or his persistent efforts in serving the party. Nor was there

any mention of his historical role in China's new literary movement. Because he was branded as a renegade, even his article on the study of Lu Xun's work--the first article ever written on this subject--was condemned as a reactionary distortion of Lu Xun's work. More ridiculous still, a passage in the history was fabricated to show how Lu Xun had rejected and criticized Qu Qiubai.

Another example can be found in the biography of Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423]. It is true that Chen Duxiu had committed mistakes of line which brought serious damage to the Chinese Revolution. However, he had also played an important role in introducing Marxism to China during the movement to popularize the use of the vernacular style of writing in China. These achievements were later totally obliterated. He indeed practiced the undemocratic patriarchal style in the party during his later years, but he was never this way when he was the secretary general during the students movement. Yet this portion was entirely ignored.

A third example can be found in the writing of Liu Shaoqi's life story. Liu Shaoqi, as a victim of a frame-up, has now been formally rehabilitated. Even though he had actually pushed a revisionist line, it was still wrong to condemn him completely. His participation in the Anyuan strike was evidently arranged by Mao Zedong and the Hunan Regional CCP Committee, but in the past, he was described as having sneaked his way to Anyuan. Again, through his negotiation with the capitalists, 12 out of the 14 demands from the workers were accepted, and yet he was denounced as having betrayed the Anyuan workers. This and so forth.

This is a pragmatic way to write the CCP history, which is full of contradictions, and people have been so befuddled that they do not know whether they should laugh or cry.

The "Gang of Four's" Tactics Cannot Be Used Against the "Gang of Four"

There are still many monstrosities even after the downfall of the "gang of four." For example, all the publicity media, including movie, wall posters, and picture albums (with the exception of newspapers which have been sold and cannot be recovered), which show the memorial services for Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong, have been so revised that the names of the "gang of four" and their cohorts are deleted completely from the list of "party and state leaders." Their images have also been erased from the film, leaving party spaces in the lineup of leaders. If erasing is impossible, the whole footage is excised. Even the method of "grafting of heads" is sometimes used. After all, traces or deletions can be seen. This kind of "Spring-Autumn Deletion" is rarely seen throughout history. The founder of the Han Dynasty overthrew the second emperor of the Qin Dynasty and the founder of the Tang Dynasty overthrew Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty; but they did not destroy the historical records of Qin or Sui, at least not openly. The CCP overthrew the Kuomintang, and the Kuomintang war prisoners can

still serve as members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee. But why should the alien elements inside the party be deleted from the historical records? Can it be claimed that they were not "party and state leaders" at that time? Can it be true that they were actually not present on those occasions? History is history; even the "tunnel of time," if there can ever be one, cannot change it. It is hard to understand why people have to adopt this ostrich-like policy.

Again, in publishing the articles written by Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] in prison, one of which mentioned the names of the commanders in the Northeast during the War of Liberation, and Lin Biao's name should be among them, the editor of RENMIN RIBAO "skillfully" substituted for it with ellipsis dots, as though the inclusion of Lin Biao's name would mean a reversal of the verdict on Lin Biao. He seemed to think that by substituting dots for his name, all the military achievements of Lin Biao can be wiped clean in history.

Do Not Mistake This as a Reversal of the Verdict on Jiang Qing

When the "gang of four" was in power, people were "classified according to their group alignment." Jiang Qing considered herself Empress Lu's counterpart, and all the confidants of the empress were lauded as legalists or progressive elements. After the downfall of the "gang of four," and because Jiang Qing had considered herself the counterpart of Empress Lu, all Jiang Qing's evils were transferred to Empress Lu, and the criticism of the empress seemed to be the same as the criticism of Jiang Qing. This means the use of the "gang of four's" idealist tactics to criticize the "gang of four." How can such criticism be convincing to the people?

For a long time in the past, "impracticality" was the vogue in Chinese political and academic circles, and history was like a lump of soft clay to be molded into any shape by people. There are generally three methods to do it: First, the taboo on the use of some words because of a person. If a person gets into trouble, whatever he has said, even though correct and to the point, will be negated, distorted and criticized. Second, the obliteration of deeds. If a person gets into trouble, whatever he has done, even though at that time justified, will be obliterated. Third, the involvement of persons. If a person gets into trouble, then anyone connected with him even remotely, will have to suffer. What has happened to Empress Lu is a case in point even though she belonged to the ancient age.

These methods are diametrically opposed to that of "seeking truth from facts." History is history, and affirmation of the first part of a person's life does not necessarily mean the affirmation of his whole life. Similarly, a person's mistake in a certain matter does not mean that he makes mistakes all his life and that he should be negated. Mao Zedong, for instance, committed serious errors during the last 20 years of his life; yet we cannot ignore his great achievements.

Fortunately, the Chinese students of history have taken the "practical" road. When the Zinyi Conference Memorial Hall opened, Lin Biao's picture was displayed among others; when the CCP Historical Museum reopened in Beijing, the pictures of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao were displayed too; and now people have raised a dissenting voice in the assessment of Empress Lu.

I hope the Chinese students of history will stop using history as a means of attacking people by innuendo. I also hope that some "China observers" will change their former style so that when some person is correctly evaluated in China, they will not jump to the conclusion that the verdict on someone is being reversed. For instance, if anyone says that this re-assessment of Empress Lu is an attempt to reverse the verdict on Jiang Qing, he will make people die of laughing.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BOOK ON DEFENSE, PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS PUBLISHED

Introduction

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese 1979 inside title page

[Book by Liu Yungo [0491 0061 3134]; Yuanzineng Chubanshe October 1979]

[Text] This book emphasizes introducing the principle and method of defense and protection against nuclear weapons. It is divided into four chapters. The first chapter briefly introduces the theory, form, and phenomenon of explosion of nuclear weapons. The second chapter mainly introduces the four characteristics of nuclear weapons to kill, wound and destroy and the principle of defending and protecting against these killing, wounding and destroying factors. The third chapter is the essential portion of this book, introducing in relative detail concrete measures and methods of defending and protecting against nuclear weapons. The fourth chapter introduces clinical procedures, emergency rescue procedures, and therapeutic procedures for victims of nuclear explosion.

This book is suitable for general readers at a level above junior middle school.

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Preface

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese 1979 pp iii-iv

[Text] Imperialism means war. So long as imperialism exists, war is inevitable. At present, the two superpowers--the United States of America and the Soviet Union--are violently wrestling for supreme hegemony to cause the entire world to feel very unsafe. The social imperialism of the Soviet Union is especially the most dangerous source of war strategy through its aggression and expansion everywhere. We must follow Chairman Mao's directive concerning "prepare for battle." We must respond to the call of Chairman Hua at the Fifth National People's Congress stating that "We must maintain a high degree of alertness for defending ourselves against an aggressive war of a superpower." We must maintain a high degree of vigilance with regard to the problem of war. We must be prepared to fight a conventional war and we must also be prepared to fight a nuclear war.

Chairman Mao pointed out early: "The atomic bomb is a paper tiger used by the reactionary faction of the United States to scare people. It looks frightening but is not really that frightening. Of course, the atomic bomb is a large scale instrument of slaughter, but what decides victory and

defeat in war is the people, not one or two new weapons." Although nuclear weapons have relatively large capabilities for killing, wounding, and destroying, its killing, wounding and destroying capability is both limited and defensible. If we can master its principle of killing, wounding and destroying, become familiar with the knowledge of defending and protecting ourselves against it, we can fight it strategically and pay attention to it tactically. We are not blindly afraid, neither are we numbly nearsighted. We make defense and protection preparations seriously and adopt positive measures for defense and protection so that we may lessen or avoid its killing, wounding, and destruction to reach the objective of preserving oneself and eliminating the enemy. A good preparation work of defense and protection against nuclear weapons is an important constituent part of war preparation work. We must use Chairman Mao's idea of war strategy as the guide and seriously implement Chairman Mao's policy concerning digging tunnels deep. Digging tunnels deep is not only the best method of defense against nuclear weapons, it is also the effective method of defending against chemical and bacterial, as well as other conventional weapons. It also has important significance in repelling the enemy's sudden assault, in discounting the enemy's superiority in guided missiles, atomic bombs, airplanes, and cannons, in effectively preserving manpower and materials, and in launching guerrilla warfare and deployment warfare. We must strengthen the concept of war preparation. We must establish the thought of constant readiness without slackening. We must fully motivate and depend upon the masses. Based upon the principle of overall planning to combine peace and war, to develop the spirit of self-reliance and bitter struggle, to guarantee quality, to emphasize real effects, we must carry out a mass movement of preparing for defense and protection.

For the purpose of popularizing the knowledge of defending against nuclear weapons, we wrote and compiled the book, YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS]. We hope it is helpful for the readers in understanding the capacities of nuclear weapons and in mastering the methods of defense and protection against nuclear weapons. This book emphasizes introducing the principle and measures of defense and protection against nuclear weapons. Its chapter on rescue and treatment of injuries from nuclear weapons is for the reference of medical personnel. A part of the illustrations in the book are taken from related books. The level of knowledge of the editors is limited. It is inevitable that the book may have mistakes and unsuitable passages. The readers are invited to provide us with criticism and opinions so that we can make corrections.

[Abstracts of each chapter follow]

Abstracts

SIMPLE THEORY OF EXPLOSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 1-10

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] All explosions are sudden release of large quantity of energy, but explosions of gas, dynamite, gunpowder, etc. release chemical energy while nuclear explosions release nuclear energy. The difference between the 2 types of energy is explained in detail. Sections explaining nuclear fission and nuclear fusion follow the discussion of the release of energy due to structural change of the atomic nucleus and the three types of radioactive α , β , and γ rays. Structures of atomic bomb, hydrogen bomb, and neutron bomb are briefly described, with simple drawings depicting locations of dynamite, uranium 235, neutron source, trigger device, etc. Finally, a photo of an early stage atomic bomb of the United States is reproduced.

POWER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND RANGES OF KILLING, WOUNDING AND DESTROYING CAPACITY

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 10-14

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] The power of a nuclear weapon and its capacity of killing, wounding and destruction are closely related, but the two are not one in concept. The power refers to the total energy released, measured in a TNT equivalent. The range of destruction generally denotes the boundary of an area, measured by radius, in which men and materials will suffer various degrees of injury; the farther is the exposure from the center of explosion, the lighter is the injury. Many factors control the range of destruction of a nuclear weapon, and its destructive effect is limited by many conditions. Of these factors and conditions, protective shields at the time of explosion are elaborated. In Hiroshima, within 1600m from center of explosion, 90 percent of a group of 3,000 students caught outdoors died, while nearby, another group of 5,000 students in one type of shelter or another had a death rate of only 26 percent.

FORMS AND PHENOMENA OF EXPLOSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 14-20

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] In a war, nuclear weapons may be detonated with guided missiles, rockets, or airplane, and the destructive action, effects, and ranges vary with the form of carrier. The mode of explosion of nuclear weapons includes generally aerial, ground or water surface, underground or submerged explosions. Under separate headings, phenomena of nuclear explosion and its destructive capacity of each mode are briefly described. Two photos are given depicting the mushroom cloud of a middle-air and a ground surface nuclear explosion respectively. There is one table describing the different flame and smoke phenomena of aerial and ground surface explosions. There is another table listing duration of luminance, and the duration and height of the rising smoke cloud in terms of the size of the nuclear weapon.

DESTRUCTIVE FACTORS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: (1) PHOTO-RADIATION

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 21-31

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] This section is divided under headings of (i) Formation and Characteristic of photo-radiation; (ii) Destructive actions of photo-radiation to men and materials; (iii) Protection against photo-radiation. Injury from photo-radiation is said to be similar to sunburn, except more severe in a shorter duration. Injury to the eye and the fundus oculi is given special attention. Photos are given to describe reflection or absorption of rays by the light or dark color in the dress fabric. The relationship between the destructiveness of radiation and the angle of incidence is also explained. Energy release of a nuclear explosion is in 2 stages, while 98-99 percent of it is in the second, the fireball stage. The first, flash stage lasts only about one-tenth of a second. Any type of shield, except inflammable materials, before the second stage reaches the maximum is helpful. Lying on the stomach may also reduce the angle of incidence, hence the injury from radiation.

DESTRUCTIVE FACTORS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: (2) BLAST WAVE

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 32-37

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] The discussion of blast wave is divided into 3 sections: (1) The formation and transmission of blast wave; (2) The killing, wounding, and destroying actions of blast wave; (3) Defense and protection against blast wave. High temperature and high pressure of nuclear explosion are the cause of the fireball, the rapid expansion of which squeezes the surrounding air and pushes it forward in an extremely fast speed to form the blast wave. Factors affecting the transmission of blast wave include the size of the weapon, the mode of explosion, the distance from the center of explosion, and the condition of the terrain. Drawings of damages to houses by supercompression and by dynamic pressure are given to describe 2 types of actions. Conditions of Hiroshima are used to show effects of shelters on reducing damage from blast wave. A hospital 1,560 m from the center of explosion is shown in a photo undamaged except for broken glass windowpanes. Many of the area would not have been hurt except for the fact of being close to the windows.

DESTRUCTIVE FACTORS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: (3) EARLY STAGE NUCLEAR RADIATION

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 45-53

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] Early stage nuclear radiation is an invisible ray released by the explosion in the initial 10+ seconds. It is similar to the x-ray used in hospitals, having very high power of penetration. The radiation is composed of γ ray and neutrons. The higher is the density and the thicker is an object, the more is it capable of weakening the penetration power of γ ray. Some light elements, such as water, paraffin, etc can provide a shield against neutrons. There is a table listing the effect of steel, concrete, brick, soil, water, and lumber in attenuating early stage radiation.

DESTRUCTIVE FACTORS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: (4) RADIATION CONTAMINATION

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 54-64

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] Radioactive ash, the fission product, is the major source of radiation contamination after an explosion, although induction of non-radioactive materials, such as bomb shell, soil, etc by neutron action and residual fissionable materials also constitute minor origin of contamination. More than 200 radioactive isotopes are formed in fission process, and most of these release α and γ rays simultaneously. Contrary to claims of Western newspapers, neutron bombs are not really clean. Many things will still become radioactive through induction, but this type of radiation decays much faster. To protect against radioactive ash, the duration of exposure should be shortened as much as possible. Shower or swim immediately after contamination may lessen injury. Staying indoors, wearing protective garments, not breathing in contaminated air, not eating contaminated food, and not drinking contaminated water are recommended.

DESTRUCTIVE FACTORS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: (5) COMPREHENSIVE KILLING, WOUNDING AND DESTROYING ACTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 64-69

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] Lethal effects of nuclear explosion vary with the size of the weapon, as well as the 3 factors of nuclear radiation, blast wave, and photoradiation. The radius of the first factor is smaller than the second, while that of the third is the largest. With neutron bombs, the radius of the first is greatly enlarged, while that of the other 2 factors is smaller. Generally speaking, the radius of compound injuries is larger in case of aerial detonation compared with nuclear explosion on the ground surface.

WORK OF DEFENSIVE PREPARATION AGAINST A NUCLEAR ATTACK

Beijing YUANZI WUQI PANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 70-73

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] Opposition to aggressive wars with nuclear weapons depends upon effective military and civilian defense and protection. In many ways, defense against a nuclear attack is similar to ordinary air defense. Preparation work discussed in this section includes establishing an observation and warning system, various specialized teams trained for emergency rescue of victims, decontamination of the various zones, and other tasks of quick eradication of the aftereffects of a nuclear attack. Just as measures of defending against conventional air attacks, dispersing the population from cities, military bases, etc. to the countryside, constructing underground shelters, organizing fire and poison prevention are described as important. The emphasis is said to be popularization of knowledge about nuclear weapons so that there may be no blind fear or ignorant apathy.

MEASURES OF DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST A NUCLEAR ATTACK

Beijing YUANZI WUQI PANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 73-108

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] Measure for protection against nuclear weapons is discussed in the following headings: (1) Utilizing convenient materials: Light-colored clothing, raincoats, cotton earplugs, masks made of ordinary gauze or towels are described as effective protection. (2) Utilizing terrain and landmarks: a fault, a gorge, a hill, a ditch, or an embankment all afford protection. (3) Constructing structures for guerrilla warfare: discussion includes digging trenches, materials for covering, caves for hiding a single person, sealed compartment protected from penetration of radiation, brick and concrete underground structures and connecting walkways, construction of sealed security doors, using gravel and charcoal for filtering blast wave, multi-layered filter system for protection against poison, installation of ventilation and medical facilities, etc. (4) Improving and reconstructing existing underground structures, including basements, etc. (5) Preservation of such necessities as weapons, ammunition, vehicles, fuel, communication equipment, drugs, food and water: Methods of protecting these necessities against contamination are discussed.

MOVEMENT DURING A NUCLEAR ATTACK

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 108-113

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] After hearing the siren warning the population of a nuclear attack, everyone must stay calm and obey orders. All documents and valuables should be quickly put away. Machines, electrical switches, gas valves, etc should be closed. Windows and doors should be closed, curtains pulled down, food and water should be covered as soon as possible before everyone carries the protective materials and necessities to the shelter in an orderly fashion. There are drawings describing what to do during an impending nuclear attack, including one drawing instructing the way to hide under a bed next to a wall. Flashing light is the most obvious signal of a nuclear explosion. After noting the flashing light, the reader is warned against looking at the flaming fireball; he should quickly go to the nearest shelter.

MEASURES FOR ELIMINATING THE AFTEREFFECTS OF A NUCLEAR ATTACK

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 112-131

Liu Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] After a nuclear attack, the command headquarters should quickly locate the center of explosion based upon sentry reports. The size and mode of the explosion should be accurately assessed. From these data, the condition of injuries and destruction and the area of possible radiation contamination should be generally estimated. The paper includes a drawing to demonstrate the way to erect a marker (in front of a grove of trees in the drawing) for the purpose of recording x rema/hour// x year x month x day. The needs of sweeping, flushing with water or hot steam, or filtering contaminated human bodies, clothing, materials, roads, buildings, food, drinking water, etc are discussed. If repeated treatment is insufficient to bring the level of radiation down to a permissible amount, the paper recommends waiting until natural decaying process make them safe before these items are used.

EMERGENCY RESCUE AND TREATMENT OF INJURIES: BURNS FROM PHOTORADIATION

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 132-135

Lin Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] Methods effective for the treatment of ordinary burns are said to be effective for treating photo-radiation burns as well. Common and effective Chinese traditional herbs are recommended so as to reduce the use of antibiotics for controlling infection. Burns of the fundus oculi and the respiratory track are sort of special conditions of victims of a nuclear attack; they are discussed separately in this section.

BLAST WOUNDS

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 135-143

Lin Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] Supercompression and dynamic pressure actions of blast wave may have direct and indirect effects on the human body. Internal injuries to various organs, bones, etc may be more severe than visible external injuries. The clinical manifestations, the diagnostic measures, and treatment are discussed in separate sections, but all the recommended procedures appear to be applicable for treating conventional traumas as well.

RADIATION INJURIES

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 143-160

Lin Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] Injuries to the human body from radiation under the condition of a nuclear explosion are said to be 3 kinds: the acute radiation sickness, skin injuries from β ray, and internal injuries. γ Acute radiation sickness is described as a general disease caused by exposure to γ ray and neutrons of a short duration. Clinical manifestations are divided into the initial stage, pseudo-recovery stage, critical stage, and recovery stage. Severe cases are said to require one-half to 2 months before entering the recovery stage, but the body is said to possess internal factors for spontaneous recovery, provided proper care is administered during each stage. Treatment procedure for each stage is given at length, but no technique beyond hemostatics for hemorrhage, watching out for shock, etc is prescribed. If the radioactive dust has entered the victim's body, all excretions must be deeply buried in a designated place, but no mode of disposal of the corpses is ever mentioned in the entire book.

COMPOUND INJURIES

Beijing YUANZI WUQI FANGHU ZHISHI [KNOWLEDGE FOR DEFENSE AND PROTECTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS] in Chinese Oct 79 pp 160-170

Lin Yunbo [0491 0061 3134]

[Abstract] During a nuclear explosion, compound injuries are most common. They may be divided into 3 types, with radiation, burns, or blast injuries as the major damage of each type. Two or more types of injuries have the way of intensifying the severity of one another, and the lymph cell count within 3 days and the total white cell count within 6 days following the trauma may be used to distinguish the 3 types. Principle of treatment for each type is given but basically it is not very different from other injuries of conventional warfare. Surgeries should be performed during the initial and pseudorecovery stages, and only if absolutely necessary to avoid shock. Blood transfusion should be repeated but in small quantity each time to prevent the occurrence of pulmonary edema.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CONSUMPTION VERSUS ACCUMULATION DISCUSSED

Beijing XINSHIQI [NEW PERIOD] in Chinese No 2, Nov 79 pp 17-19

[Article by Lin Pei [2651 0012]: "Should We Persist in the Practice of Reducing Consumption To Keep a High Level of Accumulation?"]

[Text] For a great many years a prominent problem has existed in our economic life; our working people's livelihood has long been kept in a condition of low consumption and the long-term outstanding problems in the masses' livelihood have piled up mountainlike. These include not only problems in the low level of wages and income, but also includes housing shortages, crowded transportation, commodity supply shortages, a limited, weak commodity structure, insufficient commercial services and installations, unavoidable lines to purchase goods, and relatively heavy housekeeping burdens. In short, the peasants have all had severe problems of differing degree in clothing, food, housing, transportation and expenses. Moreover, these problems have long gone unsolved. The existence of such an abnormal situation has blunted and continues to blunt the enthusiasm of the working masses.

The great majority of the working people are quite reasonable. They do not disregard our historical conditions of a backward economy and thin base and make excessive demands for consumer goods. They are fully aware of the temporary difficulties facing the nation after the ten years of calamity caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They realize that the solution to the many problems piled up over the years requires a lengthy process and that they cannot make excessive demands. Even more valuable are their great love for the socialist motherland and their superior tradition of long, hard struggle; even after long suffering under conditions of low consumption, they still are able to positively throw themselves into the new long march to build socialist modernization. However, all of this cannot become an excuse for continued disregard of the masses' suffering. Quite the opposite, the correct attitude should be to deeply sum up the serious lesson of the long-term neglect of the working people's consumption and the blunting of their enthusiasm, work hard to solve this problem, and not let low consumption be "prolonged."

Looking back on the history of socialist construction in China over the past 30 years, our treatment of the working people's problem of consumption is comprised of both successful experiences and painful lessons. During the three years of economic reconstruction and the first five year plan (FFYP), our party and government showed greater concern for the working people's material benefits and consumer needs, the ratio between accumulation and consumption was handled more correctly, with accumulation controlled at under 25 percent. There was more concern for maintaining a balance between the two major divisions of production, relatively speaking there was greater emphasis on developing production of consumer goods and increasing the supply of consumer goods. There was greater concern for developing the production base to gradually raise the people's living standard. In this way the national economy developed at a rapid pace, and the working people derived material benefits from socialist economic construction, and their socialist positiveness made huge advances. For example, during the FFYP (1953-57), the average yearly increase in industry was 18 percent, in agriculture 4.5 percent, in national income 8.9 percent, the industrial workers labor production rate increased 8.9 percent, and staff and worker wages increased 7.4 percent. The masses' spirits were high, and even today people still fondly remember that period of prosperity.

This makes a clear contrast with the 20-some years in the post-1958 period when Chinese economic construction experienced t great damage of two major declines between peak peiolds in which there were too many problems to deal with and the people's livelihood underwent a great many repeated difficulties. The reasons for this, of course, were many-faceted, including complex political and economic factors. In the latter "great decline," the main reason was the destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." However, it cannot be denied that there was a close relationship with the neglect in our economic work of the material benefits and consumer needs of the working people. The main demonstration of this was in the neglect of the consumer needs of the broad peoples for onesided raising of the rate of accumulation. In 1958-60 the rate of accumulation was raised to about 40 percent, and after entering the 70s, the rate of accumulation has remained over 30 percent. In other words, the method of raising the rate of accumulation was to scimp on the livelihood of the common people, forcing the proportion of consumption funds too low, preventing the staff and workers from receiving their normal promotions and raises, and causing the average wage level to decline. In Beijing, for example, in 1957 the average salary for staff and workers was 763 yuan, in 1977 it had declined to 666 yuan, a decrease of 12.8 percent, though with the added expense of price increases the actual decrease was 27.8 percent. Disregard of the balance

between the two great production divisions and scimping on consumer goods production to develop production of the means of production, causing the national economy to limp along and causing shortages in the supply of consumer products. One-sided emphasis on "production first, livelihood second," especially in urban construction where there was long-term neglect of housing construction caused daily more severe shortages in housing, so that the average living space for people in Beijing declined below the pre-1949 level. All of this is contrary to the objective laws of economics.

The goal of socialist production is to guarantee the greatest possible extent or a daily increasing satisfaction of the people's material and cultural livelihood requirements (including both the individual worker's consumer needs and the public's consumer needs). The above-mentioned arrangements for building production are not in line with or have diverged from this goal, and this cannot but cause us to suffer severe penalties. To express this with images, it is as if our national economy has led us into a narrow, muddy alley, which is ever narrower and ever more difficult to follow. Not only was the high speed national economic development unattained, on the contrary, national economic development was hindered and mass enthusiasm was blunted. This lesson has taught us that in the future we can no longer engage in any affairs which transgress against the goals of socialist production, neglect the working people's consumption and injure the working people's material benefits.

On the basis of investigation and research, the Party Central and State Council have boldly decided to carry out an adjustment of the national economy, starting this year. This is a truly enlightened major policy decision. One of its most important features is the solution of the the various problems mentioned above which have caused us suffering for so many years. We must thoroughly stimulate mass enthusiasm to carry out the four modernizations, and must also resolutely, gradually and thoroughly solve these problems.

What causes doubts among some people is that some leading cadres are not too clear-headed in their understanding of this. They are somewhat or even greatly unenthusiastic about adjusting and solving these problems, and seem to have more than a few ideological obstructions.

One sort of comment is that "low consumption is reasonable." A typical example is the report by a responsible comrade in a particular province, "Although our standard of living is low, we still have a portion. When one person has no bun to eat, I divide mine up to share. This is the superiority of our socialist system." He has provided us with a formula: low consumption plus egalitarianism equals the superiority of socialism. Although no one believes that his own life is subject to such a formula or that eating one portion of a bun for a meal could be

filling, but for a provincial level leading cadre to recommend such a foolish formula to the common people is really no small matter. The people cannot but worry how the adjustments to the national economy could possibly be smoothly implemented in the work area under his control. Is the low consumption suffered by the Chinese people to continue forever? Can the workers' enthusiasm withstand such attacks? It is worth noting that other places, departments and units are not without comrades with the same mistaken viewpoints. It is an undeniable fact that the poisons of the perverse theories of a "socialism of general poverty" and "coarse egalitarianism" spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have not yet been eradicated. The work of putting down the rebellion and returning to normal still requires a major effort.

Still another comment is that "high accumulation is hard to give up." During the initial adjustments to the national economy for this year, the accumulation rate did decline, but still remained above 30 percent, which is abnormal. Should there be even more adjustments? Some people advise stopping here and say, "Financial and material resources cannot withstand a further increase in the consumption ratio." The reason is said to be an insufficient supply of consumer goods, and that there cannot be a lack of funds for basic construction. This explanation is not convincing. Why is the supply of consumer goods insufficient? One of the main reasons is that the front line of basic construction is overly long, uses too much financial and material resources, and the year's production cutbacks were in production of consumer goods. Many light textile industry enterprises had cutbacks in fuel, power and resources and had to shut down some operations to continue others, so how could there be an adequate supply of consumer goods? If we truly arrange our plans according to a scientific sequence of agriculture, light industry, heavy industry and basic construction, and reduce basic construction to a degree reasonably suited to national power, and pour financial and material resources into increasing the production of consumer goods, wouldn't this be much easier to "endure"? The real problem is that some comrades really are not truly in favor of reducing the battlefield in basic construction. They cannot separate themselves from high accumulation no matter how the common people suffer from low consumption. They loudly proclaim how they want to stimulate mass enthusiasm for broad implementation of the four modernizations, but they cannot "endure" a little concrete effort to transfer mass enthusiasm. This really is unforgivable!

It appears that some comrades have become used to moving in the narrow, muddy alleys of the "left" and are not now willing to emerge. They need to be encouraged so that all ideological hindrances of this kind can be eliminated in a hurry. Only in this

way can we smoothly and completely carry out the eight-character plan to adjust the national economy, and step-by-step with all possible haste turn around the abnormal condition of the working people's low consumption and thoroughly stimulate the socialist positivism of the working people to accelerate the pace of building the four modernizations.

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WRITER ASKS: IS POVERTY REVOLUTIONARY AND PROSPERITY REVISIONIST

Beijing XINSHIJI [NEW PERIOD] in Chinese No 2, Nov 79 pp 10-11

[Article by Wang Zisong [3076 1311 1529]: "Is Poverty Necessarily Revolutionary and Prosperity Necessarily Revisionist?"]

[Text] Last year I visited a mountain area that was filled with treasures, treasures which for the last few years the peasants (including collectives and individuals) were not allowed to collect. On the one hand the goods were discarded on the ground, while on the other hand there was a short supply of mountain goods on the market. Why was this the case? It is said to be for fear of transgressing against "taking grain as the key link," and fear of "developing capitalism." Comrades told me that this place has an abundance of wood-ear so that each family need only throw down a few strips of oak wood to make a "wood-ear bed" and sprinkle them with a little water to grow the wood-ear. Not only can they supply their own needs, the excess can be sold to the state. However, since the leading members of some prefectural committees took this as "capitalism" they issued orders to destroy the wood-ear beds. Why is this called "capitalism"? Some peasants said, "The cadres are afraid that we will prosper, as to prosper a little is capitalistic."

Such conditions not only exist in the villages, but also exist in the cities. A few days ago a barber talked with me about their wages and bonuses saying that they had again changed the allowance and bonus system so that each person's monthly income was reduced by almost 10 yuan. Asked why, he said, "It's just the fear that we workers will get a little more money."

It appears that the anti-revolutionary, perverse theory of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that "prosperity is capitalism and poverty is socialism" poisoned some of our comrades and to this day has not been eliminated. The problem of poverty and prosperity requires a bit of explanation.

Is there any good to poverty? The answer is yes. Poverty causes desires for change, and if there is poverty then there will be revolution. In history, peasant uprisings were always caused by hopeless poverty so that people were forced to become bandits.

In China, the revolutionary spirit was strongest among the laboring people, especially the working class, which was oppressed by the three big mountains of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial society. This is the major reason for the victory of the Chinese revolution. In the world today those places where the revolution is waged most fiercely are the relatively impoverished third-world nations, while in the relatively prosperous nations the revolutionary conditions are comparatively poor.

If, however, we take this as an absolute, and believe that revolution is necessarily related to poverty, then, a little bit of prosperity is "revisionism" and "capitalism." This would produce a very perverse theory: it is best to become ever more impoverished as that would produce the strongest revolutionary spirit. Didn't Lin Biao and the "gang of four" say that they would "prefer the grasses of socialism to the seedlings of capitalism."? They shouted revolutionary slogans to destroy our socialist economy to attain their anti-revolutionary goals of usurping party leadership and state power. Unfortunately, some comrades in our revolutionary ranks also had the same sort of ideas. Whenever the economy picked up a little and the livelihood of the masses became a little more comfortable, they felt that the class struggle was everywhere and that another revolution was needed. This kind of revolution does not build up production but rather tears it down, and isn't it because of "poverty that there can be revolution"?

Theory and practice have both already proved that this is not a true Marxist theory of revolution. Marxism believes that to carry out a revolution of the superstructure and production relationships is, in the final analysis, for the liberation of the production forces and the promotion of production development. After the proletariat has already taken power, any revolutionary changes in politics, economics or ideology can only be judged incorrect or correct by whether or not they stimulate the production forces forward toward development. Only when the production forces continuously develop are we truly constructing socialism and moving toward communism, as only this is in the basic interest of the proletariat. A few empty references to "revolution" will only result in causing a decline of the production forces and perhaps even cause their destruction. Can such actions build socialism and communism? Not only can't they, moreover, the authority of the proletarian dictatorship cannot be secure and there is potential for the restoration of true capitalism to occur. During the past few years, didn't just such conditions develop in some bureaus, departments and districts?

This was well-expressed in the recent article by Zhang Wentian [1728 5113 1131] titled "Politics and Economics Under Proletarian Dictatorship": "Under proletarian dictatorship in

non-wartime conditions, whether or not the party's political line is correct and to what degree, and whether or not the proletarian dictatorship is secure and to what degree, must finally be measured according to the success and degree of success in the construction of a socialist economy. Politics which cannot motivate the people's enthusiasm and which cannot promote or stimulate economic development, no matter how attractively the surface is embellished or how agreeable it sounds, will, in the end, prove to be empty and may even bring only disaster to the construction enterprises of the people and the state."

In the old society the laboring people suffered exploitation and their livelihood was difficult so they wished to rebel. It can be said that at that time poverty was a motivating force in revolution. Marxism, however, is scientific, and the Marxist theory of revolution certainly is not built simply on the distinction between poverty and prosperity. Marx never recognized the lumpen proletariat at the very bottom of the old society as forces of the revolution. If poverty and prosperity can be used as marks to distinguish between what is revolutionary and not revolutionary, this will advance the mistaken theory that Marxism is not suitable for a prosperous state. We know that in some capitalist nations that are concerned only with economic development, the livelihood of the people (including a majority of workers) is relatively prosperous. Nevertheless, they cannot escape Marx's analysis of the basic contradictions of capitalist societies, which is that the broad working class is still exploited and that crises of capitalist economics will continuously develop. Therefore, the basic theories of Marxism regarding these nations are still suitable. The problem is that the working class in these nations must creatively use Marxist theories according to the actual conditions and find their own correct road to revolution.

After we have attained political power, are the working people to continue to be poor or even become more impoverished before there can be continuous revolution? No, the situation is actually quite the opposite. The working people control their own fate and are masters of the state. When they wish to escape the impoverished livelihood of the old society and desire national prosperity, their personal livelihood will continuously prosper. If, at this time, they are permitted to remain in poverty, their revolutionary enthusiasm will not be forthcoming and they will lose hope in the revolution and will even become suspicious of the revolution. Did not the actual conditions of the past few years produce just such results? Recall for a moment the situation in the 50s when the socialist economy was making continual developments and the livelihood of the working people was continually improving. The peasants progressed from the individual to the mutual aid teams, from the mutual aid

teams to the cooperatives, and in all places where the work was well done production was increased and the livelihood was raised. The masses felt that production and livelihood were increasingly raised, that socialism had a bright future, so their positive socialist nature was generally raised. Making a comparison of the positive and negative aspects leads us to an inescapable conclusion: after the proletariat has already attained political power, a long period of poverty not only will not become a motive power for revolution, moreover, it may become a negative force hindering revolution. Only by permitting the people's livelihood to continuously prosper will they come to love socialism and will they have revolutionary enthusiasm.

This question also ought to be seen in the international picture, because only if we make socialism work and daily strengthen the nation will we be able to show the superiority of socialism to the people of the world and will be able to force those who doubt or even oppose Marxism to recognize the truths of Marxism. On the other hand, if the people of socialist nations have ever greater poverty, does that not employ our own experiences in the destruction of socialism and destroy the prestige of Marxism? If we want to say that this is for the "revolution," then, what kind of "revolution" is it? Isn't it the false socialism advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and which was rejected by the people?

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ARTICLE ADVOCATES MORE AUTHORITY FOR ENTERPRISES

Beijing XINSHIQI [NEW PERIOD] in Chinese No 2, Nov 79 pp 20-21

[Article by Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535]: "Give Enterprises More Authority To Make Their Own Decisions"]

[Text] Since Liberation, conditions in our enterprises have been such that in all matters the upper levels make arrangements and give permission, much like the beads on an abacus, touch one and the line moves, no touch, no movement. Take products for example, what products are to be manufactured and how many is all planned by the center and transmitted downward, level by level, to the localities. The plants are responsible only to the upper level and are not responsible to the people. Production takes place only for the plan and not for the marketplace. The resulting conditions are that the marketplace lacks the necessary products while unnecessary goods are produced and go from the plants into storage. The enterprises' manpower, finances and materials are also determined by the upper level. The enterprise leadership is not responsible for whether or not the enterprise makes a profit. It is all the same whether the enterprise is well run or badly run, whether it has a profit or a loss, and by how much. Their rice bowls are iron-clad and they eat from the common pot. They are simply unconnected with the material benefits of the workers within the enterprise. Because of this the positive spirits of the workers and the enterprise have suffered considerable inhibitions, so how could production be done properly?

The factor which created such conditions is that for a long time our nation operated under an "antiquated centralized planned economy." According to this method, all plans are made by the state and these plans have too many inflexible rules. Moreover, they all suffer from commandism. After the center formulates a plan it is transmitted downward level by level to each department, province, municipality and even to each enterprise. The enterprise can only produce according to the plan, and cannot ask what products the marketplace or people need. The people's economic needs are complex and constantly changing, and the plan responds to change with inflexibility. Such all-encompassing, mandatory plans have killed off the economy and tied up the enterprises.

If we wish to realize the four modernizations and stimulate the positivism of the broad enterprise cadres and workers, there must be economic reform. The substance of the reform is change of the mutually unsuitable conditions that have developed between the production relationships and superstructure on the one hand and the production forces on the other hand.

Our present "antiquated centralized planned economy" now in operation was chosen during the first five year plan. During the past 20 years conditions have changed but the economic plan has remained the same. Add to this the ten years of mad destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and the problems pile up like a mountain. Precisely where should the reform begin and from which key link should the chain be moved? It is necessary to open the veins to locate the disease and directly apply the medicine.

Who can be depended upon to correctly operate the economy? First, of course, are the workers. The positivism of the workers is the most important factor in properly operating the economy. Therefore, the indicator of success in economic reform is whether or not we can stimulate the production enthusiasm of the cadres and masses and promote the development of the production forces. The workers, however, are not isolated, but are organized within the enterprises to carry out production. The enterprise is the most basic production unit. Within the enterprise there are human factors which includes the workers, the technical personnel and the majority of management cadres. The material factors include the machinery and equipment, power and raw materials. The enterprise's production operations include use of the machinery and equipment and the consumption of power and raw materials. In addition, product design, production results, production quality and profit and loss should all first be reflected from within the enterprise. Therefore, in a successful economy, the enterprise is the most important link. Only if enterprise positivism is thoroughly mobilized, if the enterprise is well run, and if we raise the enterprise production level, technological level and management level can we then talk about correctly operating the enterprise's surrounding relationships, adjusting and reforming the entire economic system and motivating the positivism of the workers.

The mandatory rules of the central authorities manage the economy with administrative systems, rules, levels and techniques to the extent that there is no separation between the government and the economy. Such administrative management cuts off the natural relations of economic activity, and excludes using the methodology of economic laws, bringing about organizational swelling, needless repetition, red tape, bureaucratism, creating a whole series of problems and great waste. Therefore, in order to reform the basic road it is necessary to completely reform this economic system, broaden the authority of the

enterprises, manage the economy according to the objective laws of economics, and thoroughly take care of the material benefits of the enterprises and the workers.

Recently, the state operated plants and enterprises in a number of areas tested a new method of deducting a percentage of the profits, under which the enterprise's bonus and welfare funds are disassociated from wage totals and attached to profits. If an enterprise is well run the revenues turned over to the state are higher and the profits retained are also higher, and the material benefits to the enterprise's staff and workers are also higher. Although this method was simply the initial stage of broadening enterprise autonomy, however it had relatively good results in motivating the positivism of the enterprise's staff and workers.

The broadening of enterprise autonomy does not mean that a unified state economic plan is unnecessary. The state plan determines the direction of economic development and the important proportional relationships, but does not determine the details and does not set fixed, rigid goals. The state must use the economic levers of the marketplace, price, taxes and loans rather than simply use administrative methods to encourage the enterprises to carry out the plan.

The broadening of enterprise autonomy must be guaranteed by democratic management within the enterprise so that major power in the enterprise is in the hands of the whole body of workers, rather than controlled by a minority of cadres sent by the upper levels. These democratic powers of the workers ought to be made a matter of law, and guaranteed by legal means. Only by carrying out democratic management can there be any assurance that the broadened enterprise autonomy is operating for the benefit of all the workers and the welfare of the whole society and not operating for the selfish interests of a small minority can we then guarantee the socialist direction of the enterprise. Economic democracy must be guaranteed by political democracy. Democracy must follow the progress on the four modernizations and continuously develop. Only in this way will there be complete motivation of the workers' positivism.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEED TO RECOGNIZE ACHIEVEMENTS OF PROFESSIONALS DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598]: "Red Flowers Are Admired Outside of the Wall"]

[Text] On 6 January JIEFANG RIBAO carried a frontpage report entitled "Why Couldn't Such a Sharp Wit Raise His Head?", a report which was reprinted in RENMIN RIBAO on 10 January under another title, "A Thought-Provoking Lesson." The report pays a tribute to Comrade Zou Gang [6760 1481], researcher of the Shanghai Pharmaceutical Research Institute, for his research paper on cerebral pain-killing drugs published in SHENGLI XUEBAO [PHYSIOLOGY GAZETTE] in 1962. Later, some German and American physiologists and pharmacists conducted further research on the effect of morphine on cerebral organisms on the basis of Zou Gang's new findings. As a result of this research, they have acquired new knowledge on the fundamental law of the movement of the nerve system, thus making a great contribution to this branch of science. But in the past 15 years, Zou Gang became a quiet and unknown person despite his outstanding achievement in medical science. Zou Gang eventually became "a red flower which was admired out of the wall" because his employer thought that his research project was out of touch with reality and "followed the capitalist road." For this reason, he was forced to give up his original profession. This proves that talented people are well-stocked in China; because no attention had been paid in the past to the talented people and their training; examples like Comrade Zou Gang could probably be found everywhere in our country. According to the report, Comrade Zu Gang's pioneering effort was not ignored by the foreign medical profession. His important findings on this branch of science were prominently mentioned in a lecture given by Hertz, vice president of the West German Pharmacology Society, during his visit to China last year. A color slide introducing Comrade Zou Gang and his research shown during the lecture caught the audience by surprise. In the audience were Chinese medical specialists and neurologists, who heard Hertz deliver a lecture dealing with the effect of benzedrine and morphine on the human body. My intuitive reaction to this report is this--would our leaders and newspapers and journals have attached such great importance to Zou Gang's achievement of 17 years ago if it were not presented to the Chinese audience by Hertz? If not, would

he become another type of "red flowers which were admired outside of the wall?" JIEFANG RIBAO and RENMIN RIBAO have done just the right job by calling the people's attention to this "thought-provoking" event. I reacted to this delightful as well as sad episode with mixed feelings because similar red flowers unknown to ourselves but well-known to foreign experts may be too numerous to be mentioned.

The following incident has come to my attention recently: Comrade Yan Zhongfang (2518 0112 2455) is a worker turned light expert and now head of the new light sources section of the Shanghai Film Studio. His section was named an advanced collective in 1978 for its success in producing a new variety of floodlight lamps to replace the carbon-thread filament lights inconvenient for the outdoor shootings, since while on location trips they should be carried by a huge truck. This portable direct current incandescent light lamp weighing four-fifths less than the carbon-thread filament light lamp was produced by Yan Zhongfang and can be raised by hand for shooting outdoor settings. It is battery-powered, and therefore can be used in areas without electricity. This less expensive floodlight lamp has delighted both directors and light technicians because it enables the Shanghai Film Studio to shoot natural outdoor settings at reduced costs. This light lamp so far still unavailable in the United States attracted the attention of Mr Furman, an American television technical specialist, during his visit to China last summer. Later, he reported on this new flood lamp and its inventor in the August issue of FILM PHOTOGRAPH magazine. After his return to the United States, Furman sent two books along with a letter to the Chinese inventor, saying: "The bulbs you have produced through research are very useful to the film-makers all over the world. Your invention deserves my congratulations. If your country can produce and market them abroad, I am sure they can compete with products from Germany, where light lamps of your type are still not available."

Unfortunately, after reaching a certain government organ (not the Shanghai Film Studio), this letter received no attention. When the letter was turned over to Comrade Yan Zhongfang, the two books sent by Furman were missing.

Also unfortunate was the fact that when his direct current incandescent lights were sent to the United States for display at an "audio-visual exposition," Yan Zhongfang was not selected to go with his invention. Selected to participate in the exhibition was a studio administrative cadre who knows neither electricity nor light systems. Worse, he could not use the direct current incandescent light system.

Why should the foreign experts be given the first opportunity to discover and recommend those inventors our country has produced, and why were they still suppressed at home? Why couldn't the inventor of the direct current incandescent light go abroad to participate in the exhibition of his own product? Why did such unhappy events continue to unravel as our nation is marching toward the four modernizations? Although the causes behind such unhappy events vary from unit to unit, I want to take this opportunity to discuss a few key factors of common concern.

First, I feel that these events were mainly caused by the most harmful and unhealthy deep-rooted thought that nonprofessionals were born to lead professionals, and by the pernicious ideological influence that the assertion that the former could not lead the latter is an antiparty and antisocialist idea. Some leading cadres have failed to distinguish the "phoenix" from other ordinary birds in their unit, not because they are not men of integrity and not dedicated to the four modernizations, but because they know too little and are nonprofessional. To them, non-professionals leading professionals means the former suppressing the latter. These comrades have devoted several decades to leading others. So far, they are still not interested in becoming professionals. Whenever they are accused of killing an invention in its cradle, they will never feel sorry. When this happens, they would brush aside this accusation by saying that it was just an oversight.

Second, such events were also caused by the equalitarian trend of thought that once thrived in our country. For a long time, we have emphasized the struggle against sharp wits and the necessity of suppressing them. Those who were sharp wits could expect tough and hard days ahead. Those who were inventors could be labeled elements "practicing individualism, cherishing personal struggle, craving for fame and profit, being aloof from reality, being cocky about their future, being bookish, following the beaten path of experts, and practicing revisionism." Is it true that equalitarianism is still running wild today? Last year, many people in a factory became hot-tempered when one of its three-in-one combination research groups was presented a big prize in the form of a cash award in recognition of its invention. This hot temper did not calm down until the group's leader used a large portion of the cash award to buy candy for workers throughout the factory. In 1977 an article written by a teaching research group and published by the CHINA MEDICAL JOURNAL under the title "The Aorta and Its Clinical Significance" drew attention from the international medical profession and was praised by it as an important essay, which was published in the name of a teaching research group so that its real writers could avoid being accused of "seeking fame and prominence." After reading this essay, a professor of the London Geiger Medical College, the United Kingdom, inquired about its writers three times because he wanted to include it in a new textbook. A subsequent investigation revealed that it was jointly written by doctors Jiang Dianfu [1203 3013 6534] and Jia Benli [6328 2609 4539] of the Ningxia Medical College. I am afraid that their names would have been buried forever in the "teaching research group" if the British professor did not notice the article in our medical journal. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that this did not happen during the days of the "gang of four," but in the period from 1977 to 1978; the British professor did not get his answer until he sent three letters to us.

Third, lack of reverence for the fruits of labor performed by intellectuals was also believed to be responsible for causing the aforementioned events. For a long time, intellectuals were urged to remold themselves through

physical labor. Today, this "dogma" still shackles the people's minds. In the eyes of some comrades, "manual labor" is synonym for "doing strenuous work," for going to the countryside and remote areas, for committing intellectuals to cadre schools. Any other form of labor means nothing to them. In their eyes, the inventions of Zou Gang, Jiang Dianfu and other comrades are not fruits of labor performed by intellectuals, but their "personal victories." Lack of respect for the fruits of labor performed by scientists and technicians is also reflected in our leaders' dawdling attitude toward our scientific achievements. In addition to assuring that scientists can devote five-sixths of their time to research, we should take prompt and swift actions to announce their new achievements to the world without delay. At least we should transmit such information as quickly as possible to their counterparts in other parts of the world. (Certainly, we cannot reveal state secrets.) Countries with advanced science and technology have raced against time to transmit information on their inventions and their application to the world for fear of lagging behind others in this field. But in our country the routing of official papers often takes at least 6 months or even 3 years before any of our inventions can be announced. Worse, some of our new achievements in science and technology were even locked up in filing cabinets and forgotten forever. Although bureaucratism and dilatory workstyle should be blamed for this situation, its root cause stemmed from our cadres' consistent contemptuous attitude toward the fruits of labor performed by our intellectuals.

If the aforementioned malpractices, bureaucratism and dilatory workstyle were not eliminated, cases in which our own inventions are ignored by ourselves but consequently recommended by foreign experts can be repeated in the future. Worse is the possibility that some of our cadres may deliberately, shamelessly, arrogantly and unreasonably ignore our inventions in the future, even after they are recommended by foreign experts. When can such an awkward situation be eliminated? I am glad that many of our outstanding scientists still do not feel discouraged and still work hard for the four modernizations although their achievements have not been properly recognized by our own countrymen. This situation can be best summed up by the following poem reflecting three inquiries from a foreign scholar and the ignorance of our "nonprofessional officials": "Flowers planted inside the wall are admired outside of it; they attract bees and butterflies; they feel sad and lonely without the attention of their masters; they patiently await being plucked by foreigners."

The Chinese nation should willingly play a role in promoting international cultural, scientific and technical exchanges, and make a greater contribution to humanity. We should consider it a good thing and feel proud to "see our flowers being plucked by foreigners." But now we must prevent those "red flowers admired outside of the wall from holding gold bowls to beg alms" from foreigners. Certainly, we can confidently change such a fretful situation, if our comrades are willing and determined to learn from others, direct their eyes downward, listen to the opinions of the masses during the discussion on practice being the sole criterion for

verifying the truth, keep in close touch with reality, and criticize bureaucratism, equalitarianism and the ultraleft trend of thought contemptuous intellectuals. If there are still some people who are unwilling to learn from the masses, who are not resolved to transform themselves from nonprofessionals into professionals, who still take everything for granted, and do everything possible to impede the development of the four modernizations, we will have no alternative but to appoint other more competent persons to take their place.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STAGES OF CRIME UNIFIED - NEW CRIMINAL LAW EXPLAINED

Shenyang LIAONING DAXUE XUEBAO: ZHIXUE SHEHUI BAN [JOURNAL OF LIAONING UNIVERSITY PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION] in Chinese No 5, 1979 pp 14-20

[Article by Luo Ping [5012 1627]: "On Prepared, Attempted and Incomplete Crimes"]

[Text] The promulgation of the "Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China" has given the people throughout the country, and primarily the state personnel, the duty of conscientiously studying and energetically propagating this criminal law. After a preliminary study, I will present my personal views on only Section 2 in Chapter II of the Criminal Law concerning the definitions of preparation to commit a crime, attempted crime and incomplete crime.

If we say, in studying the question of the joint commission of crimes, that we should analyze and demonstrate in a horizontal way the different responsibilities for the different harms done by the principal offender, by accessories, by those who have been coerced or cajoled into participating in a crime, and by those who have instigated others into committing a crime, then, in studying prepared, attempted and incomplete crimes, we should analyze and demonstrate in a vertical way the different stages of prepared crimes, actually committed crimes and accomplished crimes as well as the changes in development of aborted and other crimes.

Articles 19-21 of the "Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China" stipulate the concepts of prepared, attempted and incomplete crimes and the principles of punishment. The study of this problem means an attempt to clarify the different stages in the development of an intentional offense and to draw distinct demarcations between the stages of preparation and completion and between the attempting, the accomplishment and the voluntary abortion of a crime as well as the characteristics of a voluntarily aborted crime. This will enable us to correctly determine the criminal responsibility of the offender and to master the criteria for measuring the punishment and to give scientific proof for it.

In our judicial practice, we frequently come across the following case: The offender is discovered or apprehended by a public security organ before the offense is actually committed. In this circumstance, it is

very important to study whether the person was only at the stage of preparing to commit the crime or at the stage of actually beginning to commit it. If no harm has been done, we must find out not only the stage of the offender's action but also whether the incompleteness of the crime was caused by something unexpected by the offender or was the result of his own voluntary action. This will directly determine the punishment the offender deserves. Therefore, a clear understanding of the natures of prepared, attempted and incomplete crimes and a good knowledge of the relationships as well as the differences between these three crimes are of great and practical significance. In criminology and in the practice of investigation and trials, this is a rather complex problem requiring further study and discussion.

To clarify this problem, I will begin with a discussion of the following aspects.

Prepared, Attempted and Incomplete Crimes Can Only Take Place as Direct Intentional Crimes and Not as Indirect Intentional Crimes or Unpremeditated Crimes

A prepared, attempted or incomplete crime can only take place as a direct intentional offense for the reason that a direct intentional offense is a conscious and deliberate act. The offender not only clearly understands the harm his act would do to society, but also hopes that the act will succeed. (Article 11 of the Criminal Law) Under such conditions, in general a criminal intent must have preceded the criminal act. The offender might have carried out his criminal act immediately after forming his criminal intent. For example, in a crowded place, a pickpocket sees someone carrying a handbag containing a purse and immediately stretches out his hand and steals the purse. It is also possible that after forming his criminal intent, he does not immediately carry out his crime but waits until after a certain period of preparation. For example, if he wants to steal a large sum of money from a locked safe, the offender will try by every means to find tools for opening the safe, wait for the right opportunity, and so forth. The preparation to commit a crime means to create the conditions and to prepare for the actual commission of the crime, and the more elaborate the preparation, the greater the harm to society. However, in the course of committing a crime, the offender might encounter something unexpected which makes it impossible for him to pursue his criminal act. It might be that although his act has been thoroughly carried out, he still cannot obtain his expected result. It is also possible that in the process of committing a crime, the offender might voluntarily abandon his criminal intent and abort his criminal act, which then becomes harmless. This shows that in the case of a direct intentional crime, there is the possibility not only of the preparation for but also of the attempt and the abortion of the crime.

In an unpremeditated offense or an indirect intentional offense, the question of the preparation, attempt or abortion of a crime does not arise, and this is determined by the special features of unpremeditated offenses or indirect intentional offenses. In an unpremeditated offense, the

offender should be responsible for foreseeing the harm to society which will be the result of his act. However, because of his subjective lack of understanding or his negligence or rashness, his act harms society. Therefore, in the case of an unpremeditated offense, there is no question of the so-called preparation for or abortion of a crime. Furthermore, an unpremeditated offense presupposes the causing of damage to society under the criminal law. Therefore, there can be no such thing as an attempted but unpremeditated crime.

An indirect intentional offense is manifested by the offender's awareness, but not certainty, of the result of his act, in which case, the harm to society is owing to his attitude of noninterference. Thus the offender's motive, as far as its harmful effect is concerned, is obviously different from that of a direct intentional offender, who hopes the harm will occur. For example, a medical worker foresees the possibility of a patient's death if he does not give him timely treatment. However, because of the mischief caused by factionalism he does not treat the patient in time, resulting in the patient's death. The death of the patient is evidently caused by the medical worker's noninterference in the occurrence of the effect. Thus we can see that because of the motive behind an indirect intentional offense, the question of a prepared, attempted or incomplete crime does not arise, and if there is no harm done, it does not even constitute a crime. If, on the other hand, harm is done, the medical worker will be liable for indirect intentional manslaughter.

From this we can see that prepared, attempted and incomplete crimes can exist only under conditions of direct intentional offense. Since they reflect certain stages of direct intentional offense and the degree of harm done, they also determine the seriousness of the offender's criminal responsibility and can be used as objective criteria for measuring the crime and the punishment due.

The Relationship Between the Preparation and the Completion of a Crime

Preparing to commit a crime means the offender's act in creating the facilities for carrying out his criminal intent. It is manifested by: looking for the tools for committing a crime, creating the conditions for facilitating his criminal movement, colluding with accomplices, and so forth. To purchase a weapon for killing people, to tail somebody and wait for the opportunity to rob him, to purchase inflammable materials as a preparation for arson, to form a gang secretly before committing a robbery, and so forth--all these are acts of preparing to commit a crime.

Preparing to commit a crime is a component part of the offender's total criminal act. We see many cases in which a crime is usually the continuation of a series of activities on the part of the offender. On many occasions, the offender has deliberately sought out and created the required conditions and carefully studied the methods for accomplishing his criminal intent. For example, this can be clearly illustrated by a swindle case. Swindler A hears from his older sister that her sister-in-law Li is very rich and has valuable things in her house. To lay his hands

of these things, A secretly carries out an investigation and finds out that Li's property actually belongs to Li's fiancée and was left in Li's custody. A further investigates Li's fiancée, and then colludes with B, a former schoolmate of Li's fiancée, in forging a letter supposedly written by Li's fiancée. In this letter, Li is ordered to transfer all the valuables in her custody to B's house. Li thinks the letter is genuine and complies. Then, after sharing the booty, A and B disappear. This example shows that A's collusion with B and the forgery of the letter are both indispensable preparations for the swindle, and that these acts are part of their swindle or a link in the chain of their offense. Without these acts or this link, their criminal design could not be accomplished. In this sense, the preparation for a criminal offense is also harmful to society, but the preparation itself does not yet constitute a direct threat to the intended victim, because it only paves the way for the crime. In this example, if A is caught during his collusion with B or when they are forging the letter, then it is obvious that no harm has been done. Yet, if, because they are not discovered, they succeed in sending the forged letter, then the offense has advanced from the preparatory stage to the execution stage, and the mailing of the letter is the key to the success or failure of their crime.

The form of a preparation for a crime and the form of an accomplished crime constitute a unity as well as a difference. An accomplished crime includes the offender's subjective direct intention and his objective act, as well as the causality between his act and its result. Preparation for a crime is an incomplete form of accomplished crime. Subjectively, they both fall under the category of direct intentional offenses. However, if the crime is only in the preparatory stage and the offender's intended harm to society has not yet been effected, the causality of only a possibility and not a reality. Will this difference in the form of a crime absolve the offender from his criminal responsibility for the harm which his preparation does to society? No! The special features of a prepared crime, in most cases, determine its harmful effects on society as well as the offender's criminal responsibility. The view that the preparation for a crime does not constitute a crime on objective grounds and the preparer should not be held criminally liable because the preparation for a crime is not the actual commission of a crime is incorrect. People who hold this view do not understand that the act of preparing for and the act of committing a crime are closely related, that preparing creates conditions for committing a crime, and that many crimes have failed to materialize because of the lack of preparation. Therefore, the view that "preparation is not harmful to society" is unrealistic.

The preparation for and the actual commission of a crime are two different stages in an intentional offense. In determining the crime, we should regard the preparation as a criminal act in the entire process of committing the crime. Then, in determining criminal responsibility, we should consider at what stage the preparation is, the extent of its harm, the degree of its thoroughness and its closeness to the natural result of the crime before deciding on the appropriate punishment. Generally, such offenders are given a lighter or mitigated punishment than those who have accomplished their crimes. If the case is not serious, he might not be punished at all.

Acts of crime preparation are punishable according to the extent of the harm to society and the degree of thoroughness in preparation. In the practice of judicial trials, the more serious acts of crime preparation are dealt with by lighter or mitigated punishment by contrast with the punishment for accomplished crimes. Yet some legal precedents show that it is sometimes hard to distinguish between the preparation for and the attempting of a crime, and some acts of preparation have been dealt with as though they were acts of accomplished crimes. In such cases, the punishment for crime preparation tends to be heavy. Now let me cite an example. Wang So-and-so wants to harm his divorced wife Tian So-and-so. He looks up Zhang So-and-so, who has also divorced Tian, and plots to blind her or to disfigure her so that she can never marry again. Afraid of Wang, Zhang at first agrees. On the following day, however, Zhang, of his own accord, goes to the public security organ and reports the plot. A certain judicial court judged this as a case of attempted crime. This is obviously incorrect, because, in view of the facts, it is only a plot, or a plan, to inflict injury, which has not yet been carried out. If this preparation for a crime is mistaken for attempted crime, it will obscure the demarcation between preparing for a crime and committing a crime, and the sentence passed will be unduly heavy. This point deserves attention.

In dealing with the act of preparing for a crime, we must also note that if another crime is involved in the course of preparing for the first crime, then the preparation for the first crime and the other crime should be dealt with according to the principle of combined punishment for several crimes. For example, some person privately engraves the seals of state organs and forges the certificates of enterprises and business establishments in preparation for committing a fraud. Although his fraud has not yet materialized, the very acts of engraving seals and forging certificates already constitute an offense. Under such conditions, the first thing should be to deal with the crime thus independently constituted according to law. If the preparation for fraud should also be punished, the principle of combined punishment for several crimes should be followed. If the preparation, given the circumstances of the case, should not be punished, then the independently constituted offense should be punished. Furthermore, it must be noted that in the course of preparing for a crime, if the offender aborts his act of his own free will and the source of harm disappears owing to his voluntary abortive act, then he should not be held criminally responsible.

The Difference Between Attempted, Accomplished and Voluntarily Aborted Crime

An attempted crime means that the offender has already begun to commit the crime, but the crime has not been completed because of something beyond the offender's control. In this sense, an attempted crime should include these three elements: First, the offender has already begun to commit the crime; second, the expected result has not been produced (or

the crime has not been completed); and third, the failure to produce the expected result is independent of the offender's will. None of these three elements can be lacking.

First, when we say that the criminal act has already begun, we mean that the act has already reached the stage of committing a crime.

If we say that an intentional offense generally includes the stage of the formation of a criminal intent, the stage of preparing for the crime, the stage of the actual committing of the crime and the stage of accomplishment of the crime, then the beginning of the actual committing of a crime shows that the offender has already entered the third stage. A criminal act takes place when the offender is psychologically motivated to cause harm with direct intent. The difference between a criminal act and the preparation for a crime is that while the purpose of the preparation is to create the conditions for the crime, the act makes it possible for the crime to produce the expected result. An attempt means that the criminal act has already begun and has become a direct threat to the victim, and that if there are no objective obstacles, the offender can logically obtain his expected result.

Second, when we say no harm has been done, it means that the offender has not obtained his expected result.

When the crime has entered the stage of execution, the failure to produce the expected result is one importance difference between an attempted and an accomplished crime. The result of an intentional offense as a rule refers to the concrete result expected by the offender. For example, the result of premeditated homicide can only be the murder of the intended victim; the result of premeditated assault and battery can only be physical injury to the victim, and the result of graft can only be the grafter's illegal possession of property rightfully owned by the whole people or by the collective. If a person is not killed, but only severely injured, as a result of premeditated homicide, this is a case of attempted murder but not of accomplished murder. Some people hold that the accomplishment of a crime is judged not only by the result of the crime but also by the completion of the criminal act. Thus they think that the crime of premeditated homicide is not determined by the death of the victim but by the completion of the criminal act. Therefore, although the victim was only injured instead of killed, the act to kill, or the murderous activity, was carried out. We think this view is incorrect.

An accomplished crime refers to a specific intentional criminal act on the part of the offender, and this act can only produce its expected result provided that there is, for instance, the death of a person in the case of a premeditated homicide, the injury of a person in the case of premeditated assault and battery, the loss of property in the case of theft, or the burning of property in the case of arson. All these are accomplished crimes. An accomplished crime must have produced the specific expected result and the offender must have realized his criminal intent.

Yet, it cannot be denied that some direct intentional offenses--such as false accusation, libel, slander and desertion--do not have concrete or specific results. In criminal law, what we should pay attention to is not the concrete result of a crime but its harmfulness to society, and this harmfulness can produce various different harmful results at any time. Therefore, for this type of crime, it is usually unnecessary to differentiate between attempted and accomplished crimes. If any harm is done, this does not indicate the accomplishment of a crime but rather the need to mete out heavier punishment. In the case of a person's refusal to support his parents, leading to the old people's death, their death does not mean the accomplishment of the crime of desertion but rather a circumstance calling for heavier punishment. A theoretical clarification of this point can help us overcome the mistake of being overlenient to the offender on the grounds that it is an "unaccomplished crime."

Furthermore, some intentional offenses, such as rape, do not produce apparent concrete results, and this has led to a lot of controversy. Some say that the result of rape is the violation of female chastity, and others claim that it is an infringement on the woman's personal freedom. In such cases, how can we decide whether it is an attempted crime or an accomplished crime? We think that it is precisely in such cases that, instead of mechanically determining whether they are attempted or accomplished crimes according to the result, we should base our judgment on whether the criminal act has been completed. Here, the result expected by the offender is not any concrete harm, but only the consummation of his harmful act. Therefore, consummation of the act means accomplishment of the crime.

After all, the distinction between an attempted and an accomplished crime is inseparable from the offender's subjective psychology and the nature of the crime under the criminal law. Among direct intentional offenses, aside from the question of whether the expected effect has been produced, the nature of a crime should depend on whether the criminal act has been completed. However, it must be understood that when a crime is considered attempted or accomplished according to the result produced, we cannot at the same time determine its nature according to the stage of the criminal act. Under other circumstances, as long as the carrying out of a criminal act can be proved, there is no need to consider the offender's subjective psychology and the nature of the crime, or to distinguish an attempted from an accomplished crime.

Third, if a crime does not produce its expected result (or if the criminal act cannot be completed), there must have been some cause independent of the offender's will. This is a very important feature of an attempted crime, indicating its difference in principle from a voluntarily aborted crime.

The cause of an unaccomplished crime--a cause which is independent of the offender's will--can be either objective or subjective. Objectively, an unaccomplished crime is usually caused by objective obstacles, either manmade or natural. For example, the offender might be discovered by a

third party or might be resisted by the intended victim; also, he might be handicapped by some natural forces. Subjectively, the offender might have erred in sizing up the situation or might have used the wrong method or wrong tool (such as using white sugar instead of arsenic for poisoning), or misidentifying the victim (such as killing a dog instead of a person owing to darkness), and therefore fails to attain his expected result. But these mistakes do not in any way alter his criminal intent, because his criminal act had progressed according to his criminal intent, and the failure to produce the expected result was only because of a certain misunderstanding on the part of the offender.

According to the criminal legislation of some countries, there are two different interpretations of unaccomplished crimes. One of them maintains that an unaccomplished crime must be caused by something unexpected by the offender; the other holds that, regardless of the cause, a crime is unaccomplished as long as the act is not completed. Is the main difference between these two opinions caused by the question of whether the element of voluntary abortion exists in an unaccomplished crime? Those who think that, regardless of the cause, any uncompleted criminal act should be considered unaccomplished, naturally include voluntary abortion as one of the causes of an aborted attempt. These people treat the natures of both voluntarily aborted crime and unaccomplished crime as the same, just as some works on criminal law call voluntary abortion of crime an aborted attempt. Those who think that a crime is unaccomplished only because of some factors unexpected by the offender, on the other hand, contend that there is a difference in nature between these acts. They think an unaccomplished crime, is, in its nature, still a criminal act, because: 1) subjectively, the offender carries out his criminal act with a direct intent, and even though the crime is not accomplished, he does not abandon his criminal intent; and 2) objectively, the offender does not attain his expected result only because, after he had already begun his act, something beyond his control occurred. Therefore, the form of his crime cannot be altered simply because his criminal act was not completed and did not produce the expected result. Voluntary abortion of a crime, on the surface, also means that the criminal act was not completed and did not produce the expected result. Its essence, however, is that the incomplete act and the failure to produce the expected result are not caused by some obstacles unexpected by the offender, but because of the offender's abandonment of his criminal intent of his own free will, or because of a certain change in the offender's intent, and this change leads to the abortion of the crime. Therefore, the abortion of a crime means that neither the person nor his act can any longer endanger society, that the danger to society no longer exists, that the threat to the intended victim has been removed and that, therefore, the nature of the act has already changed. Under these circumstances, can we claim that it is an attempted crime? Certainly not! Therefore, while it is entirely correct to call it an attempted crime when the failure to accomplish it is caused by something unexpected by the offender, there is a difference in nature between it and an unaccomplished crime that is voluntarily aborted. The use of the term "unaccomplished crime" is quite correct if it means the failure to achieve the expected result (or to complete the act) of a crime.

It is necessary that an unaccomplished crime be different from an aborted crime, because this distinction can help us scientifically determine the criminal responsibility under the principle of appropriate punishment for crimes. In the case of an unaccomplished crime, the offender should generally be held criminally responsible; in the case of an aborted crime, the person should not be held criminally responsible, or at most be criminally responsible only for what happened before the abortion.

The three elements mentioned above of an unaccomplished crime show that in such a case, the offender has already begun to carry out his criminal act which constitutes a direct threat to the intended victim, that although the offender has not achieved his expected result and has not carried his act through to the end, if there were no objective obstacles to his act, the crime would certainly have produced the expected result. Therefore, an unaccomplished act is still harmful to society and legally calls for punitive action. We must comprehensively understand and master these three elements, which are indispensable in determining an unaccomplished crime.

Our criminal law stipulates: "Punishment for an attempted offender may be lighter than that for an accomplished offender and may be mitigated." (Subsection 3, Article 20 of the Criminal Law) The reason is quite clear, because an attempted crime has not yet produced the result expected by the offender, and, compared with an accomplished crime, which has already produced the expected result, its danger is less, and the punishment for it should generally be lighter or mitigated. However, in the practice of judicial trials, the circumstances affecting the passing of a sentence is sometimes very complicated. If the offender of an attempted crime does not act independently but on behalf of a criminal organization (meaning that the offender is a member of the criminal organization) and the perpetration of his crime is directed by the criminal organization, if the offender of an attempted crime is not an ordinary first-timer but a seasoned and professional criminal, if the motive of the offender is particularly undesirable and the methods he uses are particularly atrocious, or if his premeditated crime can cause particularly severe damage to the state and its citizens, then meticulous investigation must be carried out according to the spirit of concrete measurement of crimes and the stipulations of the criminal law, in order to mete out the appropriate punishment. In dealing with cases where the attempted crime has been, or has not been, completed, or with cases of possible or impossible attempts (such as when the offender uses the wrong criminal means or misidentifies the victim), consideration should be given to the concrete facts, the offender's subjective motive and purpose, and the seriousness of his objective act, and suitable punishment must be given as a deterrent against any repetition of the crime. In other words, while the punishment for attempted crimes should be lighter and mitigated compared with that for accomplished crimes, consideration should also be given to the above circumstances and the merits of each case.

The Abortion of Crimes

The abortion of a crime means the voluntary abortion of a criminal act, or the voluntary and effective prevention of the effect of the crime, by the person who engineers the crime. The most important feature of an aborted crime, embodied by this scientific definition, is that the abortion is of the offender's own volition. Next in importance is the element of time in the abortion and the effectiveness of the preventative measure taken.

This word "voluntary" that we often speak of refers to an act of our own free will. In the case of crimes, it refers to the act of a person who, in the course of his premeditated criminal act, voluntarily abandons his criminal intent and stops his criminal activities. The abortion of a crime can only be done by the person who premeditated the crime and from his own decision on his course of action. Therefore, before deciding whether the stopping of criminal activities means the abortion of a crime, we must first clarify whether the offender has abandoned his criminal activities of his own free will. The stopping of criminal activities because of objective obstacles--such as some obstacle which the offender cannot overcome (for example, a door of the house of the intended victim which the murderer cannot open), or interference by a third party (such as the presence of someone in the house that the offender is trying to burgle); or because of the offender's decision to wait for a better opportunity, cannot be considered the abortion of a crime under the criminal law. Also, in judging the voluntary nature of an aborted crime, we should understand that if the offender knows definitely that his criminal act cannot be consummated and therefore stops it, this is also not a case of aborted crime, because he was forced to abandon it. Thus we can see that the voluntary nature of an aborted crime, that is, the decision of the offender to abandon the criminal act of his own free will, even though it was possible at that time for him to consummate it, is the main feature of an aborted crime. The motive, whatever it might have been, which prompted the offender to abort his criminal act is immaterial. It might be his penitence, his pity, or other considerations (such as fear of criminal responsibility). Yet, whatever it might be, the possible harm of the crime to society is eliminated.

Apart from its voluntary nature, the abortion of a crime must take place in the process of the commission of the crime. In fact, there can be a voluntary abortion of a crime only when the criminal act has begun and before it has ended. In other words, the abortion of a crime can generally only take place at the preparatory stage or when the criminal act is actually being carried out. In exceptional cases, it might take place when the premeditated act has been completely carried out and when the offender voluntarily and effectively prevents his own act from producing its effect.

To determine if the stopping of a criminal act in the preparatory stage can be considered the abortion of a crime, it is most important that we find the cause for the stopping. In other words, we must know if he

stopped it of his own volition or if he was compelled to stop it by objective causes. Whether the subjective cause on the part of the offender and the objective cause of social harm have been removed is also a very important condition.

After the beginning of a criminal act and before the production of the expected result, there are the incompleted and completed stages of the crime. When a crime has not been completed, the offender can voluntarily abort the criminal act, but when the crime has already been completed, it is too late for him to do so. However, in special cases, even though the crime has been completed, the offender is still in a position to effectively prevent the result of the crime. In a case of murder by poisoning, for example, if the murderer can effectively carry out emergency action to save the victim's life before the poison takes its deadly effect, this act can also be called the abortion of a crime. In such a circumstance, to be voluntary and effective are very important considerations. If he fails to prevent his crime from producing the expected result despite his voluntary efforts, then his act cannot be considered voluntary abortion for the reason that he cannot eliminate the harm resulting from the crime.

After the preparation to commit a crime and its commission comes the stage of accomplished crime. An accomplished crime means that the crime has been completed and its harmful result has been produced. Therefore, at this final stage, the question of aborted crime generally does not arise. Yet, the following circumstances cannot actually be ruled out: After successfully committing a crime, the offender might regret what he has done or be afraid of being exposed and heavily punished. He then takes the initiative of surrendering himself and trying to make good the damage he has done. This was the experience in a corruption case. "Voluntary remedial action," according to its actual meaning, is a voluntary act on the part of the offender in which the harm caused by his crime is remedied (the offender voluntarily returns what he misappropriated) and eliminated. Apart from the abandonment of a crime because its completion and the abortion of a crime after its completion, there is the important point of the possibility of remedial action, because this action is not possible in many criminal cases, such as murder, arson, rape, and so forth, which once accomplished, cannot be remedied. Only in a very few cases and under very special circumstances is remedial action possible. Therefore, voluntary remedial action after the accomplishment of a crime should be treated as an abortion of the crime.

The abortion of a crime can be considered only when the offender resolutely aborts his criminal act of his own free will even though the crime could be consummated, and only when the possibility of objective harm to society as a result of the crime has been removed. Therefore, aside from the other crimes which might have been committed before the abortion and the harm which these other crimes have produced, for which appropriate punishment should be given, aborted crimes should not be punished. In this way, we can encourage the abortion of criminal acts and uphold the

principle of "appropriate punishment for crimes," as well as guard against the committing of crimes. This is of positive and practical significance in educating and reforming criminals.

In short, in studying the different stages in the development of a crime, we must clarify the differences between prepared crime, attempted crime and incomplete crime, and correctly understand and master their relationships as well as their differences. This is an important Marxist-Leninist theory of crime. The study and clarification of this problem are of great significance to our correct implementation of the principle of passing sentences and measuring crimes and to our criminal trials and judicial practice. We must conscientiously study and join in a common study of this problem, learn to master the spirit of its principle, strictly enforce the law, and thus strengthen the socialist legal system.

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